

**Impacts of International Trade Policy on Fisheries-Dependent Coastal
Communities: A Newfoundland Case Study**

By

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Abstract

This thesis examines how international trade policy impacts fisheries and local fishing communities. The case study for the research is the Canada-European Union (EU) Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), which came into effect in 2017. The study region is the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP), on the northwest coast of Newfoundland, Canada, where fishing communities depend on the export-oriented fisheries. By means of interactive governance theory, an institutional analytical approach is employed to examine the change in the fisheries and the governing system that CETA may bring, as well as the compatibility between the policies and principles of CETA with those governing the case-study region. Subsequently, informant interviews were conducted with fish harvesters, community members, and local and provincial governments to gauge initial responses to CETA and the change that it has already induced. Results indicate that CETA impacts governing interactions in the case-study region by first, expanding market access, and second, by weakening regionally specific protections of the inshore fishery. Furthermore, initial responses show that current stressors facing the region, including lack of adequate resource access and processing sector vulnerability, may be exacerbated, rather than mitigated, by CETA. This research highlights the importance of an early appraisal of the overall impact of trade policy from the governance perspective and according to local communities that are directly and indirectly affected by such policy. Specifically, the research offers: (1) a methodological approach to assess international trade policy through a governance lens; (2) an illustration of interactions between international trade and coastal

communities; and (3) a broadening of discussion about implications of the seafood trade and international trade policy at all levels.

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List of Abbreviations

AFF	Atlantic Fisheries Fund
CAPP	Canadian Association of Prawn Producers
CETA	The Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada
EI	Employment Insurance
EU	European Union
FLR	Department of Fisheries and Land Resources, Newfoundland and Labrador
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FISH-NL	Federation of Independent Fish Harvesters of Newfoundland and Labrador
FFAW	Fish, Food, and Allied Workers Union
MNL	Municipalities Newfoundland and Labrador
MPR	Minimum Processing Requirement
NAFO	Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization
NL	Newfoundland and Labrador
NOFTA	North of Fifty-Thirty Association
SABRI	St. Anthony Resource Basin Incorporated
SDGs	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
SFA	Shrimp Fishing Area
SSF Guidelines	The Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication
TBTI	Too Big To Ignore Global Partnership for Small-Scale Fisheries Research
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION AND THESIS OVERVIEW

1.1 Describing the Problem

This introductory chapter provides the rationale for the research by first describing the problem pertaining to the impacts of international trade policy on fisheries and local fishing communities. Then, the study aim is presented along with the two-pronged approach used. This is followed by the description of the study region and the international trade agreement that is the focus of this research. Finally, research objectives and questions are presented, followed by the thesis roadmap.

1.1.1 Globalization and Fisheries

This thesis examines how international trade policy impacts fisheries and local fishing communities that are integral to the global supply of seafood. As one of the most traded commodities globally (Asche et al. 2015), seafood products are innately connected with global markets and international trade. The seafood market, which is increasingly globally sourced, has undergone rapid change in the past few decades (Anderson et al. 2018). This change has taken place in parallel with increased trade liberalization (Rees 2002), a move which is primarily concerned with notions of market access (Hillman 2008). The free trade doctrine, which informs international trade agreements that

facilitate market access, assumes that international trade is beneficial for all countries involved (Sheppard 2016). The principles of the free trade doctrine may be in conflict with the principles that support the integrity of domestic policies, as shown in the case of fisheries (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015), requiring further examination of how these policies and institutions interact.

The global trade in seafood has been found to place “significant stress on marine social-ecological systems” (Perry et al. 2011), facilitating unsustainable exploitation (Berkes et al. 2006), and even leading to a loss of sovereignty as it can result in increasing corporate control of fisheries (Pinkerton 2017). These concerns have been validated at the global level with the research by Osterblom et al. (2015) showing that a large percentage of the global seafood market is controlled by few corporations.

One way of addressing the issues posed to fisheries by globalization has been to put in place correction or prevention policy mechanisms at both national and international levels. In the context of small-scale fisheries, principles such as equity and equality, and economic, social and environmental sustainability are stipulated in the *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries*¹ (SSF Guidelines; FAO 2015), offering protection to small-scale fishing communities which are vulnerable to global trade policy. Approaching fisheries and trade from a global perspective comes with

¹ The SSF Guidelines are a tool to guide dialogue, policy processes and actions at all levels, from local communities to global forums.

difficulties, however, such as the immense diversity of fisheries in both their management regimes and their intangible properties, which differ both geographically and culturally. Although “relationships among economic, ecological, and social sustainability should not necessarily be viewed as fundamental trade-offs” (Asche et al. 2018), Jentoft (2018) warns against the simplicity of finding panaceas for these social-ecological systems that are increasingly varied. While the literature around globalization in fisheries is robust, with diverse approaches and multi-level focuses, such as the work done by Crona et al. (2016) in their typology of interactions between fisheries and global trade, Young et al. (2006, p. 13) call for “vastly more effort asking how globalization is affecting the behavior of [social ecological systems] at different scales.” Further research, therefore, can aid in the formation of policy interventions, such as those related to fisheries trade, that do not purport to solve all of the problems but aim to enhance the benefits and buffer the repercussions from the trade in seafood.

1.1.2 International Trade and Fisheries Governance

International trade is mediated by institutions at both the national and international levels. In fisheries, institutions involved in governance have been shown to resist external pressures (Bavinck et al. 2015) and be integral to the way fisheries are governed (Chuenpagdee & Song 2012). Therefore, it is imperative to examine how the economic institutional arrangements that facilitate the international trade in seafood interact with the institutions governing fisheries.

Fisheries governance is an area of research that has received increased attention, partly in response to the widespread decline in fisheries, first globally noticed in the 1990s (Kooiman et al. 2005), for instance with the Northern cod stock, and continuing to this day. McGoodwin (1990), in his book *Crisis in the World's Fisheries*, opens with “All around the world, from the coldest arctic regions to the warmest tropical seas, there is a crisis in the world's fisheries.” The correlation between fish stock decline and academic interest in developing governing mechanisms has led to broader research addressing the factors that influence fisheries such as examinations of privatization (Mansfield 2007), institutional aspects of their governance (Jentoft 2004, Chuenpagdee & Song 2012), recognition of small-scale fisheries importance (Berkes 2003, Johnson et al. 2018, Chuenpagdee 2011b), well-being of fish harvesters and fishing communities (Pollnac et al. 2019, Acott et al. 2018), the creep of neoliberalism in fisheries (Mansfield 2004, Pinkerton & Davis 2015, Pinkerton 2019), and the effects of globalization (Robards & Greenberg 2007, Perry et al. 2011).

Fishing activity and the networks of those involved are likely to be immersed in unique sociopolitical and economic systems and webs of significance, with a need for greater specificity in studying them (McCay 2001, p. 255). This research posits that examining the institutional impacts of global trade can add breadth to the discourse. From a governance perspective, it means looking at the multi-faceted problems first on their own and then together, both at the level where it is formulated (e.g., international and national), and where the effect is felt (local).

1.2 Study Aim and Approach

This study aims to investigate and explore ways in which international trade, as a function of globalization, is informed and implemented, particularly in its effects on capture fisheries and the coastal communities that they support. Specifically, the study looks to how the export-oriented fishing communities of Northwest Newfoundland on the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) are coping in a period of social, economic, and ecological change. This change is characterized in part by the implementation of a new international trade agreement, the Canada-European Union (EU) Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), which allows Canada increased access to the largest import market for seafood, the EU (Bellmann et al. 2016). By focusing on the fisheries of the GNP as they are experiencing social and ecological exposures, this study offers a context-rich view of how international trade policy interacts and affects fisheries and coastal communities that depend on them.

A two-pronged approach was used to fulfill this aim. First, an institutional analytical approach was employed to examine how the principles and policies of CETA interact with the governing system of the GNP. This approach contextualizes the problems facing the fisheries of the region and uses the findings to inform policy recommendations to increase governability and therefore resolve persistent problems in relation to the interactions between fisheries and international trade. The institutional analysis provides a strong framework for a rapid but thorough assessment of the study region, allowing for further analysis to take place. Second, fieldwork in the case-study region was conducted

to capture and contextualize initial responses from fish harvesters, community members, and local and provincial governments to the policy changes resulting from CETA. The initial responses compliment the institutional assessment by grounding the impacts of the policy changes at the community level. This illustrates therefor how the policies from CETA, as informed by international trade principles, tangibly interact with the policies and, therefore, the fishery of the GNP.

The institutional analysis and community-based assessment helps to systematically analyze the compatibility of trade policy and fisheries governance, offering a different way to analyze how trade policy plays out at the community level rather than measuring the success of trade agreements based on provincial or national economic growth. This methodological approach, therefore, presents a ‘step zero’ for trade policy analysis. Approaching trade policy analysis this way allows both for a contextualization of its impact at the regional and community level, as well informing the wider discourse regarding how trade policy is implemented.

1.2.1 Governability and Institutional Assessment

The institutional analytical approach taken in the study is informed by interactive governance theory, particularly governability assessment. Governability is defined by Kooiman (2008), as the overall capacity for governance of any societal entity or system. This approach seeks a comprehensive understanding of the fisheries of the study region as well as the dynamics that are at play. The governability assessment is a step-by-step

process that is not intended to be used as a one-shot exercise, but as an iterative process to monitor change and progress in improving governance (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2009).

Governability theory encourages a “systematic search for possible malfunctions among the diversity of the system components and their complex connections” (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2013, p. 42). This approach not only provides the theoretical foundation for this research, but also contributes to the unique methodological research protocol that allows for comparison with other case studies globally. It argues that a system, in this case fishery communities, cannot be explained by looking only to one factor. Rather, whether the system functions or not depends on many factors such as environmental conditions, social dynamics, strength of institutions, and trade influences. The interactive governance approach therefore accounts multiple pressures and factors, ultimately offering a vital lens to identify where problems lie and where solutions may be found in moving forward (Chuenpagdee 2011a).

The institutional analysis is the entry point of this study for the following reasons. First, the analysis documents the internal and external factors comprising and influencing the region (Kooiman 2008), and second, it takes a particular focus on the institutions that make up the governing system of the region (Chuenpagdee & Song 2012). As governability assessment emphasizes the need in finding alignment between the governing system and the system-to-be-governed, an examination of governing institutions for their instrumental performance as well as the principles they hold can point to where mismatches occur and how they may be rectified (Jentoft 2004).

Interactive governance approach, both holistic in principle and practical when applied, is a rigorous exercise to inform policy decisions.

1.2.2 Identify Initial Responses to Trade Policy

The second aim of this study focuses on the initial responses to trade policy from key actors in the region. Documenting a case study of a Canadian small-scale fishery can aid in informing the literature looking at how “the increasingly global nature of the seafood trade appears to be driving local dynamics by creating similar conditions for vulnerabilities in localities around the world” (Crona et al. 2015, p. 173). An important step, from a policy perspective, in addressing some of these issues is to investigate how dynamics from the trade in seafood is affecting “outcomes for livelihoods, food security, environmental sustainability, and economic performance in various contexts” (Crona et al. 2016, p. 9).

There have been multiple approaches to examining how the growth of trade in seafood products is having impacts, from the wider global market (Berkes et al. 2006) to the use of case studies capturing dynamics at the local level (Drury O’Neill et al. 2018, Bennett & Basurto 2018). Identifying initial responses to trade policy change from a rural, Canadian fishery that is highly export-oriented adds to the breadth of this literature and expands the notion of what trade policy analysis can include. In fact, including the local level in the analysis creates direct links to the principles informing policy implementation

occurring at the global level. Therefore, key themes found through this research can inform how international trade policy of seafood is viewed, discussed, and implemented.

1.3 The Great Northern Peninsula as a Case Study

Fishing has long been a staple for the Atlantic provinces of Canada, and Newfoundland and Labrador has been largely dependent on fisheries both before and after joining Canada in 1949. Some regions in the province, such as the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) indicated in the ‘study area’ box in Figure 1.1, have historically been more dependent than others (Hamilton et al. 2004). Fisheries in the region are also mostly destined for export markets, offering thus the context for the study of the impacts of seafood trade policy.

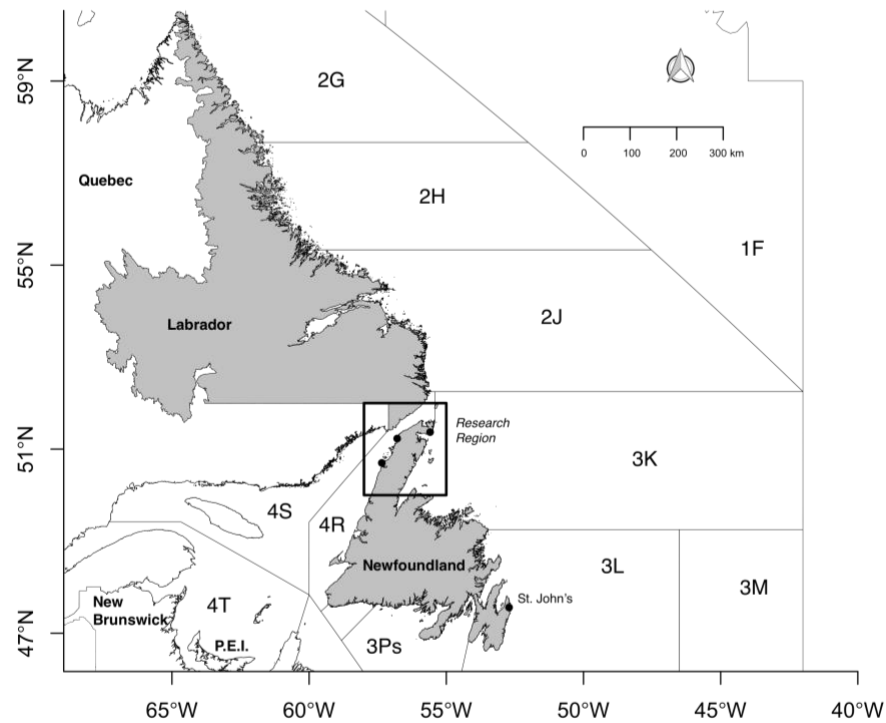


Figure 1.1 Map of case study region. GNP highlighted by black box. Atlantic Provinces are shown, and the maritime space is demarcated by NAFO fishing zones

The fisheries in Newfoundland and Labrador, and in Atlantic Canada more broadly, have gone through numerous policy changes over the past few decades. The Atlantic provinces, with their long support of social welfare, have had conflicting policies when it comes to its fisheries (Barnett et al. 2017). For one, subsidies are considered to have harmful effects as they support overcapacity and ultimately overexploitation (Burke and Brander 1995). Thus, there have been many calls to pull back subsidies to the fisheries in the region (Sabau & Boksh 2017, Mansfield 2004, Schrank 1995). The GNP in particular was highly dependent on subsidies, with 40% of all income in 1996 coming from the

government (Hamilton et al. 2004). From financing the construction of the Northern shrimp fishing fleet in the GNP in the 1970's (Sinclair 1985) to the advent of the Atlantic Fisheries Fund (AFF) established in 2017, government financial decisions have consistently played a role in the region.

The GNP is the largest and most geographically distinct region on the island of Newfoundland (Belbin 2010). The GNP has dramatic geophysical features, with the long-range mountains and a sub-arctic climate. This rural geography has brought about a way of life for the people of the GNP (Gibson 2014), who are both connected and dependent on the natural resource sector. Sinclair, who did extensive work in the region over 40 years ago, stressed the importance of the fisheries (Sinclair 1985), while also noting that it was a region of marginality (Sinclair & Felt 1993).

Referred to as “small-scale primary production,” Sinclair (1985) emphasized the historical importance of small-scale fisheries in the GNP. European settlers used the region almost exclusively for fishing with little to no development occurring due to the sovereignty issues between the French and the English which weren't resolved until 1904 (Sinclair 1985). As described by Hamilton et al. (2004, p. 198), “The harsh winters, rocky soils and remoteness of many outports discouraged economic development beyond fishing.” The region's economy was characterized by extractive industries including fishing and forestry, which upheld the local economy through the 20th century and still contributes significantly today.

The region's connection to the land is more extensive than other parts of the island, with the people reliant on both the forests and the sea instead of just one; “Northern Newfoundlanders may be called fisher-loggers, having been historically dependent on both sea and forest” (Omohundro & Roy 2003, p. 106). Although forestry and mining are a part of the economy, the marine environment is a crucial component (Palmer 2003). A major social challenge facing the region is its negative population trend. This region is currently facing a population concern with a projected 13% decline by the year 2036 (Simms & Ward 2016). Along with population concerns there is a largely negative outlook for the future of the fishery by young people on the west coast of the island (Power et al. 2014). The population decline and perceived lack of opportunity in the fishery sector add to the vulnerability of rural Newfoundland, and reflect the changing vulnerabilities the GNP has faced since confederation; the modernization undergone by the sector in the 1960s-70s moving from traps to draggers (Sinclair 1985); the 1970s-90s characterized by an expansion of boats and offshore catches (Palmer 2004); and the post-collapse period with the transition from groundfish to shellfish and the corresponding impacts that had on coastal communities (Mather 2013) and the policy changes that were implemented to facilitate such a rapid transition (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014).

The GNP fisheries continue to contribute to the region's economic viability, and, like the fisheries in the province as a whole, are increasingly connected to global markets. These markets include the United States, China, and particularly of interest in this thesis, the EU.

1.4 The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement

CETA is a '21st Century trade agreement' that has been negotiated for the better part of a decade, beginning in 2009 and culminating in the agreement's implementation on December 21st, 2017. CETA brings about potential to change the trading relationship between Canada and the European Union. This is particularly important for the fisheries sector that is export dependent like the GNP. According to the Department of Fisheries and Ocean Canada (DFO), the federal agency in charge of fisheries management in the country, Canadian fisheries exported almost twice as much seafood as it imported in 2017 (DFO 2018b). The EU is the largest trader of seafood products in the world in terms of value and is a net importer of fishery and aquaculture products, importing seafood from countries all over the world including Norway, China, Morocco, and Ecuador to name some key suppliers (European Market Observatory 2017). The objective of CETA, as stated under Article 2.1 in Chapter Two, is as follow: "The Parties shall progressively liberalize trade in goods in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement over a transitional period starting from the entry into force of this Agreement" (Article 2.1, p. 18). CETA, like other bi-lateral trade agreements, brings with it changes to tariff schedules as well as having an influence on domestic policy, necessitating a closer examination of how this new economic institution is playing out on the ground during its implementation. Since seafood products are among the main commodities in the EU trades, this trade agreement would affect how fisheries are operated, managed and governed in Canada.

CETA addresses many aspects of fisheries trade policy, including topics such as national treatment and market access for goods (Article 2.11, p. 27), time-sensitive carve outs to allow for domestic policy transitions (Article 2.11, p. 28), fisheries subsidies concerns (Article 7.4, p. 73), environmental concerns (Article 24.5 p. 382), combating illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing (Article 24.11, pp. 387-388), and sustainable development (Article 26.2, p. 408). CETA also addresses tariff phase-outs and reductions for seafood products destined to the EU, as well as issues related to sanitary measures and traceability concerns.

CETA is still in provisional effect until all member states of the EU ratify the agreement, but a majority of tariffs have either been phased out or are being reduced. Aspects of the agreement that are not currently in force are investment protection, investment market access for portfolio investment, and the investment court system (European Commission 2017).

1.5 Research Objectives and Questions

The purpose of this research is to assess the effects of policies under CETA on the social, cultural, and economic components of the fisheries and communities of the GNP. In particular, through a governance lens, this study examines the effects of the agreement in the region, looking to both policy and institutional changes and local perceptions and initial responses. The objectives of this research are threefold.

The first objective is to evaluate how well the goals of CETA align with the conservation of the fisheries and preservation of the coastal communities in the GNP. This objective was explored by the institutional analysis explained in section 1.2. The analysis focuses on how institutions, like CETA, and the principles, values, and norms that guide them, align with the underlying fisheries governance of the region.

The second objective is to document initial responses from key informants to the policy initiatives coming into place under CETA. This objective began with a thorough examination and understanding of the CETA, and by examining secondary documents that relate to CETA either directly (e.g. government position papers) or indirectly (e.g. news articles, provincial and federal documents relating to international trade or fisheries management). This was followed by the on-the-ground research, which included both informal conversations and formal interviews. The informant interviews show not only how the fishing communities initially respond to this trade agreement, but also how it may affect the viability of their industry and therefore their livelihood.

The third and final objective is to use the findings from the above to consider the needed policy and institutional changes at all levels to enable the GNP communities to benefit from CETA. This research also looks for possible areas of improvement in the governance of the region as well as potential benefits that this agreement may offer the region's fishery sector.

The specific questions that guide this research are as follows:

1. How does CETA interact with the governing system of the region?
2. How well do the policies and principles of CETA align with the preservation of the inshore fisheries of the GNP?
3. How do the interest groups of the GNP think the policies of CETA will affect the region?
4. What are the implications of international trade agreements on natural resource governance?

1.6 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is structured in a hybrid-formant to allow for the inclusion of one manuscript chapter to be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter One of the thesis has provided justification for this research, laying out the problem, study aim, and research objectives. This chapter has also provided contextual information regarding the case study region and the trade agreement under examination, CETA. Following this, Chapter Two presents the literature review and theory.

Chapter Three is presented in the manuscript format, employing the institutional analytical approach discussed in this chapter to examine the ways CETA interacts with the governing principles and institutions of the fisheries and coastal communities of the GNP. Following this, Chapter Four examines the dynamics at play in the region through

the crafting of a narrative-informed, and community-seated examination that captures initial responses to the trade agreement. Next, Chapter Five illustrates the utility of this approach, looking at the broader discourse of globalization and fisheries, concluding with a principled governance of international trade policy. Finally, Chapter Six presents the summary and conclusion.

CO-AUTHORSHIP STATEMENT

This thesis includes one manuscript, Chapter Three, that was written in collaboration with the thesis supervisor, Dr. Ratana Chuenpagdee. For this manuscript the student independently prepared the research proposal and was responsible for all aspects of the research process including data collection and analysis, and the bulk of the manuscript writing. The supervisor provided significant feedback at all stages of the research, as well as editorial suggestions during the writing and revision of the thesis as a whole.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE AND THEORY

This chapter presents a brief literature review beginning with a short description of geographical approaches to trade, followed by an examination of globalization in fisheries, and moving to the governance of fisheries as a way to contextualize and analyze these social-ecological systems. Following this, the interactive governance perspective is presented, highlighting fundamental aspects of this framework that informs the thesis.

2.1 Literature Review

Geographical approaches to trade and globalization have focused on multiple commodities and regions, and how global trade plays out across time and space. These analyses start from questioning the purported universal benefits of globalization and critiquing the view that increased globalization — like economic growth — is a ‘rising tide that lifts all boats’ (Stiglitz 2015). Krugman and Venables (1995) describe the viewpoints on free trade and globalization, with the conventional wisdom being that although global trade may hurt some interest groups it has, on average, net benefits for all nations. They go on to describe the opposing view that suggest globalization clearly produces winners and losers, with the authors concluding that neither view is entirely simple and that many factors play into the effects of trade.

Moving from broader stances to more focused analyses, geographical approaches to trade have included looking at global value chains and the impacts on natural resource industries (Baglioni & Campling 2017), examining networks and scale that view the impacts of trade as relational (Dicken et al. 2001), and using political economy theories to imagine alternatives to international trade, such as de-centralizing the free trade doctrine (e.g., a doctrine that states global trade benefits all) (Sheppard 2012). Although geographers have different approaches to examining trade and globalization (and capitalism for that matter), the discipline has increasingly advocated for the need to include scale and territory in these analyses as they are simply unavoidable (Mansfield 2005, Cox 2013), particularly in the case of natural resources such as fisheries.

The phenomenon of globalization has been examined with the advent of free trade agreements that have in part defined global politics since the 1980s (Milner 1999). Definitions of globalization, some of which touch on aspects of cultural exchange, generally tend to refer to the integration of global markets. For example, Frank et al. (2007) define globalization as an “increase in the rate of exchange of resources and information across geographic regions and cultures.” Due to its connection with markets, globalization is also tied to capitalism and corporate hegemony, which, in the realm of fisheries management, is associated with exploitation and colonialism (Berkes 2003). The privatized management of fisheries and their global interactions has led to criticism by some such as Sinclair (2013, p. 14), who state that “corporate-led globalization in the fisheries is neither socially desirable nor environmentally sustainable.”

The discussion of global markets and the world economy, and how fisheries fit into this web, invariably leads to conversations about neoliberalism and privatization; issues that have been studied in the fisheries context by academics from Mansfield's (2003, 2004, 2007) examination of privatization in fisheries to Pinkerton's (2017, 2019) and Sabau and de Jong's (2015) work on neoliberalism in fisheries. Neoliberalism has many definitions but essentially can be described as a preference for the "market as the best mechanism for allocating goods and services to meet the diverse needs of actors across the globe" (Castree 2008, p. 143). A theoretical and pointed definition is also offered: "A theory of political economic practices that proposes human well-being can best be advanced by liberating entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2007, p. 2).

As documented by Mansfield (2004), environmental governance is increasingly oriented toward market-based rather than state-led approaches. The application of neoliberal approach to fisheries comes in many forms including individual transferable quotas (ITQs) and other privatization techniques (Mansfield 2004, Pinkerton & Davis 2015). Pinkerton (2017, 2019) documents neoliberalism's impact on small-scale fisheries as well as possible ways of resisting its encroachment. Knott and Neis (2017) point out that much of the research done on neoliberalism in fisheries has focused primarily on the privatization of capture fisheries, and that more attention should be paid to other areas of neoliberalism's influence, such as marketization and financialization. Neoliberalism's influence on fisheries governance, in Newfoundland specifically, has led to enclosure and

commodification (Davis 2015), but also has been countered through principles of ethical allocation (Foley et al. 2015).

The highly political nature of this topic, comprising concerns regarding how fisheries are framed to economic ideals, is shown explicitly in the literature that examines it. Looking at the impact of globalization and neoliberalism on the local scale can further its study as well as providing clear evidence of how its characteristics (e.g., privatization, financialization, increased corporate control, new financial mechanisms, economic institutional arrangements) are impacting fisheries and the communities that they support. These dynamics ultimately culminate in a neoliberal economic and political climate that manifests itself in trade agreements, among other economic institutions (Allen et al. 2017).

Berkes et al. (2006) argue that although fisheries have been involved in global markets for hundreds of years, the constraints of inefficient harvest technology and slow growth have been erased due to globalization, allowing for wide-ranging trade and larger catches. The broader topic of globalization has been examined by Robards and Greenberg (2007) as an arrangement that can have repercussions for rural fishery communities, and also by Vodden (2015) who has labeled it as one of the factors leading to dramatic social-ecological changes for coastal communities. Ommer (2007, p. 270) adds to these voices by highlighting that coastal communities have experienced significant change, especially since the 1990s due to a “restructuring that has occurred both regionally and globally.” The work on globalization has examined the broad impacts on fisheries globally, but there

is still interest in who will benefit as well as who will be adversely affected by international trade at different temporal and spatial scales for both fisheries and social-ecological systems more broadly (Crona et al. 2016, Young et al. 2006).

A more localized example in Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly focusing on the capital city of St. John's, found that the prioritization of export markets hampered local sales of fish products, showing an adverse effect of globally defined markets (DesRivières et al. 2017). Although the literature has shown increased pressures on small-scale fisheries and rural coastal communities due to globalization (Neis & Manesch 2005, Ommer 2007, Taylor et al. 2007, Stoll et al. 2017), not all studies come to such conclusions (e.g., Beltrán et al. 2002). What the literature suggests is that it is at the local scale that globalization is anchored and therefore the local scale, in relation to the global scale, needs to be examined (Rankin 2003). This need for more localized examples of the effect of free trade opens up an area where a governance lens can be deployed to see how a region is affected by globalization. Examining this at the regional level will not only document the phenomenon but also may lead to solutions for local fisheries management; a possible answer to the impacts of globalization (Suarez de Vivero et al. 2005). In order to understand how globalization plays out in fisheries and coastal communities, the literature on fisheries governance will be examined.

Fisheries, and the challenges they face, can be seen as a microcosm of the many issues facing the global community. Fisheries are entangled in complications due to modernization, increasingly interconnected markets, asymmetrical competition from

corporate fleets, both global ecological and climate change, and most similar to the world's current political systems — varied and sometimes ineffective governance regimes. This narrative has been informed by increasingly diverse research examining fisheries and the challenges they face (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2019, Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2018, Johnson et al. 2018).

Fisheries encompass many complicated issues that may be difficult to solve in a piecemeal fashion. It is difficult to address these problems because it is not always clear what the problem is due to the uniqueness of the fisheries system. It is challenging, for instance, to figure out how a region will remain viable in a globalized world when there is a diversity of factors at play, including population shifts, stock uncertainty, and increased corporate control. Governance, defined as the shared, collective effort of government, private business, civic organizations, communities, political parties, universities, the media and general public to reach end goals (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2009), offers a more holistic and multifaceted approach to tackling the problem. Governance, which is broader than management, is underpinned by values, norms, and principles (Kooiman & Jentoft 2009). These values, norms, and principles are not often at the forefront of decision making in fisheries management, nor are they examined when looking to how management deals with problems in fisheries. The concept of a wicked problem — a problem that is essentially unique, difficult to define, and hard to solve through single-initiatives (Rittel & Webber 1973) — needs a governing solution that encompasses a greater diversity and understanding of the nature of the problems at hand (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2009). The problems associated with fisheries are messy and wicked, and

therefore require a response that is as complex and unique as the problem. Looking at fisheries with a governance perspective allows for “positive outcomes in terms of healthy ecosystems, better justice, improved livelihoods, and better food security and safety” (Kooiman et al. 2005, pg. 36).

The evolution from focusing on management of fisheries to fisheries governance was in response to the conventional managerial approaches not working well, and even described as outright failures (Apostle et al. 1998, Berkes 2003). Bundy et al. (2008) argue that the repeated failures in managing fisheries have been due, in part, by not viewing ecosystems in a holistic manner, an exercise that can be aided by having a governance perspective. Neis and Kean (2003) outline the failure in management in not seeing the cod collapse of the 1990’s coming in eastern Canada, as well as stating the efforts post-collapse that were put in place to try to slow fishing intensification. As noted by Chuenpagdee and Jentoft (2015), the majority of the world’s fisheries are managed under hierarchal governance, especially since the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea². The global decline of fish stocks, as well as the concern of global climate change and the increased uncertainty it brings, necessitates new approaches to conserving fish stocks for future generations and for the planet’s biodiversity.

² An international treaty that was signed in 1982 and is the most important legal framework for governing relations between countries on oceans-related issues

Addressing these issues in fisheries from an analytical lens has resulted in different forms of analysis for how to govern fisheries, or more broadly, social-ecological systems. Importantly, there has been recognition that simple solutions brought about externally can make things worse (Ostrom 2008). The approaches to studying the management of social-ecological systems can be more technical, such as Ostrom's (2009, p. 420) general framework which seeks to "dissect and harness the complexity" of social-ecological systems. Jentoft (2007) presents an approach that looks for better governance in a less prescribed way, with an emphasis on experimentation and less on instrumental, rational models. This latter approach is aligned with interactive governance theory which guides this thesis.

2.2 Interactive Governance Theory

Interactive governance theory, with its focus on the *governing system*, *system-to-be-governed*, and the *interactions* between them, allows for the messiness of fisheries management to be thoroughly inspected (Kooiman et al. 2005). This theory examines each aspect of the governance system first separately, and then all together. For example, the system-to-be-governed is looked at both in terms of the natural and the social systems that are being governed, and the governing system is analyzed in terms of its first order (day-to-day management), second order (institutions and their functions), and meta-order (principles underpinning second order). As there is increased consensus that fisheries governance challenges are linked to institutional failure (Chuenpagdee & Song 2012),

examining the second order of governance and the values that guide this order can provide a clear entry point to study a system.

Interactive governance uses four *properties* to establish if the system is more or less governable. These properties are diversity, complexity, dynamics, and scale. These properties help to determine the governability of the system, which is related to the quality of the system as a whole (Kooiman et al. 2005, p. 347). These properties are generally intensifying through forces such as globalization and lengthening of value chains (Kooiman et al. 2008). For example, dynamics intensifying through increased interactions and connections with global markets. Along with properties, the *elements* of the governance structure being ‘images,’ ‘instruments,’ and ‘actions’ are also examined to inform some of the metaphysical attributes shaping a system (Kooiman 2008). For example, images can have great impact on the way in which fisheries are perceived and thus governed, and can contribute to a misunderstanding of how fishers are characterized, for instance, as naturally depleting a fish stock if left to their own devices (Kooiman et al. 2008).

The governability assessment promoted in this theory must include a “systematic search for possible malfunctions among the diversity of the system components and their complex connections” (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2013, p. 42). Figure 2.1 shows the general structure of the governability assessment, with CETA included in the second order of the governing system as an institution. In this approach, looking at the connections and interactions of the system that is being governed enables the researcher to find areas in

need of improvement. The degree of governability rests on interactions between the system-to-be-governed and the governing system, which makes this concept workable (Kooiman 2008). Kooiman et al. (2008) stresses though that governability is not universal, and what works for one system may not necessarily work for another.

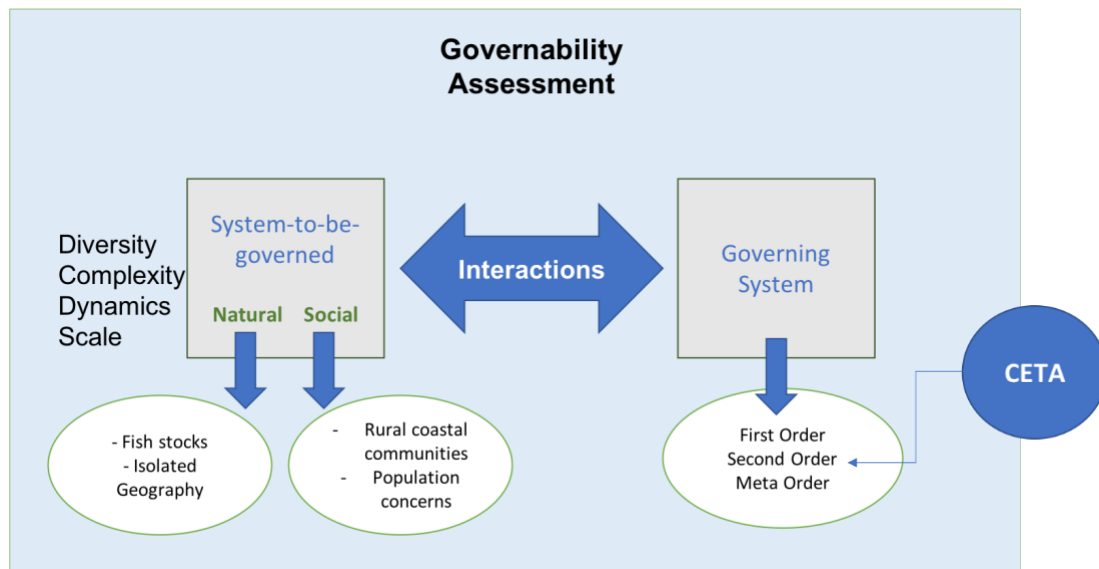


Figure 2.1 Governability Assessment Framework; Image created by author and adapted from Interactive governance theory to include some attributes of the case study region and the inclusion of CETA in the Governing System

Although interactive governance presents a non-prescriptive approach, other governance approaches have come under criticism for lacking particular attributes. Davis and Ruddle (2012), for example, link new governance regimes as being underscored by neoliberal mindsets regarding implicit advocating for property rights as well as a lack of understanding regarding power dynamics. They further argue for a “fundamental need to examine each fishery in terms of its local attributes and social, economic, and historical contexts.” (Davis and Ruddle 2012, p. 251). This community-by-community approach is

also called for by Onyango (2015, p. 737) who, coming from the interactive governance perspective, states that “there is no generalized prescription that can be applied across the board to govern small-scale fisheries. Each fishery presents itself in a unique manner that requires an understanding of the context and generating actions based on each case.” This sentiment is echoed by others in the field of fisheries governance (e.g., Steelman & Wallace 2001). These two examples show that although there is no universally accepted theoretical background of addressing the issues associated with fisheries, there is a broader push for comprehensive local examinations that allow for rich data collection to provide evidence, and ultimately, to find solutions to the problems plaguing fisheries management. The community-based approach allows for the nuances of each location to be found to inform new decisions. This is summarized well by Jentoft (2018, p. 24) stating that “in fisheries, there is no-one-size-fits-all fix.” Looking at each place individually also reveals other relevant themes such as rurality and globalization.

As the interactive governance approach has been widely adopted by scholars in the fisheries governance field (Kooiman et al. 2005, Bavinck et al. 2013, Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2015, Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2019), others have also pushed for more widely encompassing fisheries governance analysis. Smith et al. (2019) have developed a socioeconomic outcomes tool to evaluate the performance of fisheries management by linking outcomes to management objectives, while Bundy et al. (2016) and Guillotreau et al. (2018) have developed a framework, using parts of the interactive governance perspective, to more broadly identify which governance mechanisms are working and where, through the use of a typology. These advances in the field have also culminated in

efforts to address governance gaps in specific national policies, such as Stephenson et al. (2019) critiquing the Canadian fisheries management approach and presenting their own framework for sustainability that achieves ecological integrity through ethical governance. Although these more holistic and outcome-focused initiatives are increasing in the fisheries governance field, there is still more work to do. For instance, Bennett et al. (2016) emphasize the considerations that should be included when assessing the vulnerability of social-ecological systems, emphasizing the need to study vulnerabilities as interactions, with Berkes and Nayak (2018) laying out dimension of vulnerability (i.e., well-being, access to capital, and resilience). While fisheries management has increasingly focused on biodiversity and conservation (Friedman et al. 2018), fisheries governance still faces challenges including lack of political will, persistent overfishing, and lack of regulatory compliance (Nilsson et al. 2019). To tackle these problems in fisheries, particularly in a complex global governance regime (Allison 2001), the diversity of their nature and global connections requires further insight.

One reason contributing to the complexity and wickedness of fisheries are their transboundary nature (Scholtens et al. 2019), which can be both geographical (i.e., transboundary stocks) and institutional (i.e., multiple levels of governance). Although the challenges facing fisheries from social, environmental, and economic pressures can be daunting, examining them through a governance lens, with focuses on specific phenomenon (i.e., international trade), can contribute to informing how coastal communities are impacted by the global trade in seafood.

In summary, this literature review has touched on geographical approaches to analyzing trade, the diverse research into how fisheries interact with globalization, the challenges in governing fisheries, and thoroughly described the interactive governance framework for studying these discourses. This review has shown that the fisheries have been, and are global in their interactions and connections with the oceans. They have been acutely affected by global change and shaped by governance regimes which are often motivated by economic efficiency and lacking a focus on social impacts. Therefore, in order to further inform this literature, it is necessary to analyze how direct policy changes as a result of global change (through the example of trade policy) impact fisheries and coastal communities while taking into account the current governance regimes and external stressors impacting these systems.

CHAPTER 3:
FACING AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE: A PROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF
CETA ON COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN NORTHWEST
NEWFOUNDLAND

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3.1 Abstract

The Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) of Newfoundland, Canada, has undergone much social and economic change since the downturn in the groundfish fishery in the early 1990s. The declining population, which is projected to continue in the next few decades, adds to the concern. The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) has been promoted as one area of opportunity for revitalizing the GNP but the short and long-term effects of the agreement are not yet known. Assessing the impact of CETA on domestic fishery policy and local communities requires a comprehensive examination of the region's governance, as well as an understanding of the entire fisheries system. Following interactive governance theory, this study examines how CETA, as a transnational institution, interacts with the existing governing systems, at the national, provincial, and the local levels. It further explores the effects that this trade agreement might have on the viability of coastal communities in the GNP, given the natural and social characteristics of the fisheries systems. The research reveals that although the principles and policies of CETA do not directly influence fishery management, for instance in terms of quota allocation or by weakening conservation standards, the agreement does have implications for the governing system of the region. Specifically,

³ This chapter is presented in a manuscript format for submission to *Marine Policy*.

CETA affects the function and structure of the governing system through increased market access and domestic policy changes, with the latter contributing to modifying the interactions between the governing system and the coastal communities. Further attention, therefore, is needed on how local and regional governance systems can build capacity to leverage benefits and minimize potential negative impacts from new modern economic institutional arrangements, like CETA.

Keywords: CETA, Economic Institutional Arrangements, Fisheries Governance, Globalization, Interactive Governance

3.2 Introduction

International trade agreements are aspects of globalization that require careful examination since they likely bring about changes in domestic policies and enact pressure on “rural, resource-dependent coastal communities” (Vodden 2015). Young et al. (2006) argue that more effort is needed to understand the effect of globalization on “the behavior of [social-ecological systems] at different temporal and spatial scales” (p. 313). Although not a direct stand-in for ‘globalization,’ the interaction between international trade agreements and export-driven resource-dependent coastal communities has implications for sustainable resource management. Rapid market integration has been shown to undermine the governance of natural resources (Bennett & Basurto 2018), rationalizing the need to consider market instruments and trade institutions (González Laxe et al. 2018) in fishery governance.

Attention needs to be drawn to the social, cultural, and ecological diversity within fisheries, as well as to the forces of globalization that both link and threaten local fisheries and the communities that depend on them (Neis et al. 2005, p. 256). Fisheries around the world face increased pressures from various sources including new technology, rising populations, investment in highly technical offshore fleets, continued privatization (Olson 2011), and governmental mismanagement (Bavinck et al. 2018). As globalization affects fisheries in both the global north and south, and at the national and local levels, Suarez de Vivero et al. (2005) argue that an understanding of governance structure and function at the local scale is necessary to address the adverse impacts of this phenomenon. Further, since every fishery is uniquely situated (Onyango 2015), a context-heavy but universal approach to examine what happens at the local level can enhance knowledge and learning that may be applicable in other situations.

Understanding fisheries begins from recognizing that they are affected not only by the ecological status of fish stocks, but also by social aspects as well as implications from past management. As suggested by Bavington (2010), looking to ‘management’ as the sole vehicle for solving these problems has its weaknesses, one of which is the apolitical framing of an action that is inherently political. Institutional thinking can aid in broadening the perspectives about how to manage and govern the fisheries (Chuenpagdee & Song 2012). Research is required, for instance, to examine how institutions like international trade agreements are filtered through, and interact with the existing governing system, and what the implications are on fishing communities and local resource governance. Although it is expected that such trade agreements would be viewed

favorably by people who benefit from them and negatively by those whose livelihoods are affected, this research posits that principles that underline these agreements will guide policy implementation and inform how such policies are perceived by those affected.

In the context of this study, we look specifically at the Canada-European Union (EU) Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), a recent international trade agreement that came into effect in December 2017. According to the Canadian government, CETA would help “create middle-class jobs, strengthen economic relations with the EU, and boost Canada’s trade with the world’s second-largest market” (Global Affairs Canada 2016, p. 1). Positive aspects of the agreement would include the reduction in tariffs on seafood products, homogenization of sanitary and phytosanitary guidelines through a joint management committee (European Commission 2018), and reduction in trade barriers more broadly. Others, however, have raised concerns about the impact of CETA on fisheries, including the erosion of local and national policies aimed at preserving the inshore fishery (Sinclair 2013), the implications of increased pressure for industry growth within biological limits (Sabau & Boksh 2017), and key voices in the province debating its effect on inshore viability (CBC News 2013). Although CETA has been debated and negotiated for the better part of the past decade, its effects on various sectors are not fully known, and the agreement’s possible impacts on a regional fishery have yet to be assessed. It is under this premise that a study about the role of CETA is conducted, in this case on the fisheries and the fishing communities in the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.

This study takes into account the historically complicated fisheries of Newfoundland which the GNP communities rely on. The research benefits from the assessments of policy change since the cod collapse of the early 1990s (e.g., Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014), as well as previous research looking at CETA and its possible impact on the small-scale fisheries of the province (Sabau & Boksh 2017). Song and Chuenpagdee's (2015) principle-based analysis of Newfoundland and Labrador's inshore fisheries assessed three policy issues, one of which being CETA. Their study pointed to a possible conflict between the free trade doctrine and the principles that support the inshore fishery, an area that they suggest requires further study. Our study contributes to advancing the governance research by studying CETA as an institution rather than a one-time policy change, effectively taking into account its durability and multi-dimensionality. Specifically, we ask how the policies of CETA interact with the existing institutions, to what extent and to what outcomes. As fisheries are increasingly connected to global markets (Anderson et al. 2018), and it is necessary for small-scale fisheries to find ways to penetrate these markets (Pascual-Fernández et al. 2019), this institutional analytical approach can have implications for studying other trade agreements and their interactions with fisheries governance elsewhere.

In the following, we present the theoretical framework and methods. Subsequently, we describe GNP as the case-study region and outline the challenges it faces. The results and discussion sections present an assessment of the region's governance system and the implications CETA has on various system components. Finally, the paper summarizes the

key benefits of the institutional analytical approach taken and recommends further areas of study.

3.3 Research Methods

The study is informed by interactive governance theory (Kooiman et al. 2005), which offers ‘governability assessment’ (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2015) as an analytical lens to examine the extent to which the system-to-be-governed (natural and social components), the governing system, and their interactions contribute to facilitating or obstructing fisheries governance. Although other frameworks are similar in their systems approach for thorough examination of social-ecological systems (e.g., Ostrom’s 2009 General Framework for Analyzing Sustainability), this research seeks to understand the impacts of an institutional change (e.g., trade policy implementation) on fisheries and coastal communities; an objective addressed by looking to interactive governance’s governability assessment. Interactive governance lays out the structure and properties of the systems (e.g., systems-to-be-governed, governing system), while the governability assessment examines how well the systems function, given the structure, and the overall quality of interactions (Kooiman et al. 2008). Interactive governance theory, which “starts from the assumption that the state is not the only entity that has the power to impact on the course of events” (Jentoft 2007a P. 432), fosters an inclusive approach that seeks to find where problems lie and where opportunities for solutions may be found (Chuenpagdee 2011). In addition to looking at the actors involved in governing, this governance perspective examines values and principles (meta-order) that inform governing institutions (2nd order)

and daily decision making and enforcement (1st order). The analytical component is performed through the governability assessment, which includes a “systematic search for possible malfunctions among the diversity of the system components and their complex connections” (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2013 p. 42). Although the paper does not perform a full governability assessment, it follows the general guidance offered by the framework to examine CETA in the context of the systems of the GNP.

This study is particularly interested in the changes to the GNP’s governing system, given CETA. While the governing system is composed of steering instruments, mechanisms, and institutions (Jentoft 2007b), the latter is a focus since they are particularly important from a legitimacy perspective (Jentoft 2004). Institutions play a role in the application of meta-principles (Kooiman 2013), which influence the governability of fisheries (Kooiman & Jentoft 2009). Soma et al. (2015), in their focus on marine governance, look to the importance of institutions, and in particular their interactions at various levels and between multiple players including state actors and supranational organizations. Following Chuenpagdee and Song’s (2012) call for a broader concept of institutions, this study views various institutions that affect the case study region, particularly when it comes to their normative properties, in other words, their goals and objectives. It is necessary to view CETA institutionally because it is, in essence, an international market institution, and as such, has premises determined by the supra-national level (Jentoft 2004).

CETA is being introduced not in a void, but into an existing governance system where certain rules, norms, and regulations already exist. Like other trade agreements, CETA would likely have both short and long-term implications, some of which can lead to policy and institutional change. As these changes are rarely a win-win outcome, a close examination of what CETA does to the existing system is required (Jentoft 2004). As part of an understanding of the potential impacts of CETA on the sectors that it targets, a complete picture of the system is imperative; requiring an examination of the systems-to-be-governed which are categorized into *social* (e.g., people, coastal communities) and *natural* (e.g., types of species harvested, ecosystem productivity) systems. This *ex ante* analysis also offers a baseline for monitoring and evaluating how well CETA is implemented and functions, thus enabling opportunities for adjustment and modification to improve its performance.

As fisheries are wicked in nature (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2009), expecting them to conform to the homogenizing force of trade agreements can undercut what makes them unique; while at the same time decreasing the ability for the problems they face to be tamed. This is not to say that trade does not offer fisheries economic opportunity, but these economic benefits can be most equitably distributed when domestic policies are informed by fishery participants, and bolstered, not weakened, in trade policy implementation. Such an observation has further implications for the traditional areas of study that examine coastal communities, such as their interactions with the environment, internal social issues, and the forces of privatization. These topics need to be expanded to include new modern economic institutional arrangements, such as CETA, which

increasingly define aspects of the seafood trade and have direct impacts on the governance of wild capture fisheries.

In order to achieve the objectives of this research, this study relies on content analysis of secondary data, which includes reviewing relevant literature, news media sources, federal fisheries management policies, international trade documents, provincial documents relating to the fishery and processing sector, the CETA text, provisional analysis of CETA, and other documents regarding fishery and seafood regulations. Documents were located through open online searches, database searchers (e.g., Memorial University Centre for Newfoundland Studies), and by reaching out to government agencies for information regarding fisheries management policy (e.g., Fisheries and Oceans Canada), provincial fisheries policies and stances on CETA (e.g., Department of Fisheries and Land Resources, House of Assembly), and documents about CETA and what it means for Newfoundland and Labrador Fisheries (e.g., Global Affairs Canada, Parliamentary Budget Officer). Each document was analyzed for “authenticity” and “portability” to ensure that the analysis was both dependable and impartial (Wesley 2014). The majority of this analysis was conducted during the summer of 2018, with supplementary material reviewed in the winter and spring of 2019.

3.4 The GNP Case Study

The GNP, on the northwest coast of Newfoundland, has historically relied on the region’s natural resources, with fisheries being the most prominent. The Northern cod (*Gadus*

morhua) moratorium of 1992 had profound economic, cultural, and social impacts on the coastal communities, characterized in part by a move to shellfish which, although more profitable, have resulted in a less equitable fishery (Ommer 2007). These fisheries are currently going through a transition themselves, particularly with the decline of the economically essential stocks of Snow crab (*Chionoecetes opilio*) and Northern shrimp (*Pandalus borealis*), in recent years (DFO 2018c). Tension in the fisheries between harvesters and ‘government’ are felt throughout the province, especially with fish harvesters expressing anger and calling attention to their lack of resource access by setting fire to fishing gear in the case study region in one instance (CBC News 2017), as well as by marching in the provincial capital to demand a reconsideration of quota cuts (CBC News 2019). Although quota cuts inform the negative interactions between harvesters and government regulators, Epstein et al. (2018) have shown that harvesters are supportive of conservation management measures, particularly when they are given a say in the management process.

By nature, fish harvesters face many uncertainties in their occupation. Having secure and reliable access to fisheries resources, whether through quota allocation or other measures, can help ease some of their concerns. This concern over access is particularly crucial for small-scale fishers who are often at the disadvantage when having to compete with more powerful fishing vessels and who have much less option to explore new fishing grounds that are too far from shore (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2018). This is why the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries (SSF Guidelines; FAO 2015)

and the Sustainable Development Goal 14 (SDG 14) have, as their principles and targets, securing access for small-scale fisheries to resources, and also to markets (UN 2015).

In addition to insecure access to resources, the fishing communities of the GNP face other stressors such as stock fluctuations, environmental shifts (DFO 2017a), population decline (Simms & Ward 2016), an aging labor force (Sabau & Boksh 2017) and a movement toward global consumer markets (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014). Examples of effective community-focused policies exist in the region (e.g., regional quota allocations) (Foley et al. 2015, Carruthers et al. 2019), which reduce the pressure. Yet, these policies take place in the largely hierarchical Canadian fisheries management structure (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015) and may not be sensitive to the local context. Thus, the introduction of CETA, although presenting an opportunity for increased market access, raises concerns regarding the future of the fishery, with the uncertainty related to what it may bring, and the potential effect of on livelihoods and wellbeing of fishers and coastal communities in the area.

3.5 The GNP Fisheries and Communities

The ecological make-up of the region's fisheries contributes to the system complexity, shown in the region's highly variable food chain. The cold waters of the North Atlantic that surround the GNP are part of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization's (NAFO) designated areas labeled 2J, 3K, and 4R. Although there are other fishing zones that comprise the region, the federally mandated shrimp fishing areas (SFAs), shown in

Figure 3.1, are important markers due to the value of that fishery. A recent assessment of the region's ocean productivity showed a reduction in macronutrients, phytoplankton, and zooplankton, negatively affecting fish in higher trophic levels (DFO 2018d). Other factors that affect ecosystem productivity are the Labrador Current and the prevalence of sea ice, which impact nutrient flows and phytoplankton production, respectively (DFO 2017a).

The most commercially and culturally distinct fisheries are Northern shrimp, snow crab, and Northern cod. Other species in the fishing areas include American plaice, capelin, flounders, Gulf cod, haddock, herring, lobster, lumpfish, mackerel, pollock, redfish (perch), scallops, sea urchins, skate, turbot (Greenland halibut) and whelk. Marine mammals such as whales and seals are also present in the region, the latter of which prey on both capelin and cod, and have had a fourfold increase in population since the 1970s (DFO 2011). The interactions between these fisheries (e.g., Northern cod, Northern shrimp, capelin, seals) highlight the complexity of the marine food web. For instance, Northern cod rely on the capelin stock as a primary source of food, but they also prey on younger cod, young snow crab, and various life stages of Northern shrimp (DFO 2014). The climate variation of the region is a factor of the boom and bust nature of the fisheries, with climate conditions that are good for groundfish (warmer water) at odds with conditions ideal for shellfish (colder water) (DFO 2014). The Northern cod stock has shown little improvement in recent years, due in part to the lack of growth of the capelin stock (DFO 2016b). Another groundfish species of interest, redfish (perch), has seen significant growth in the past few years (DFO 2017b). The most important drivers of resource decline in the system are environmental conditions and increased predation for

both Northern shrimp and Northern cod (DFO 2017a, DFO 2016b). In addition, larger changes that are occurring in the Canadian Atlantic include rising sea-surface temperatures, ocean acidity, loss of sea ice, and changes in species biomass from seals to seabirds, all of which have implications for this highly interconnected ecosystem (DFO 2019).

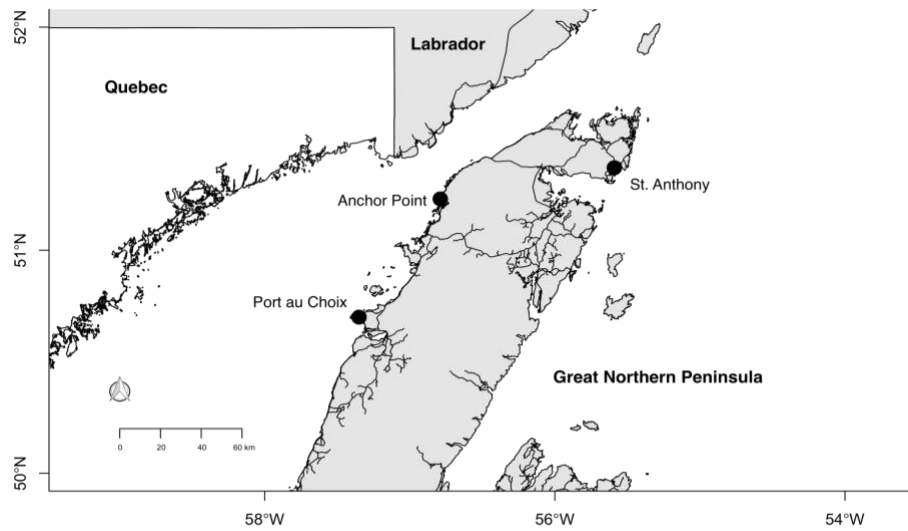
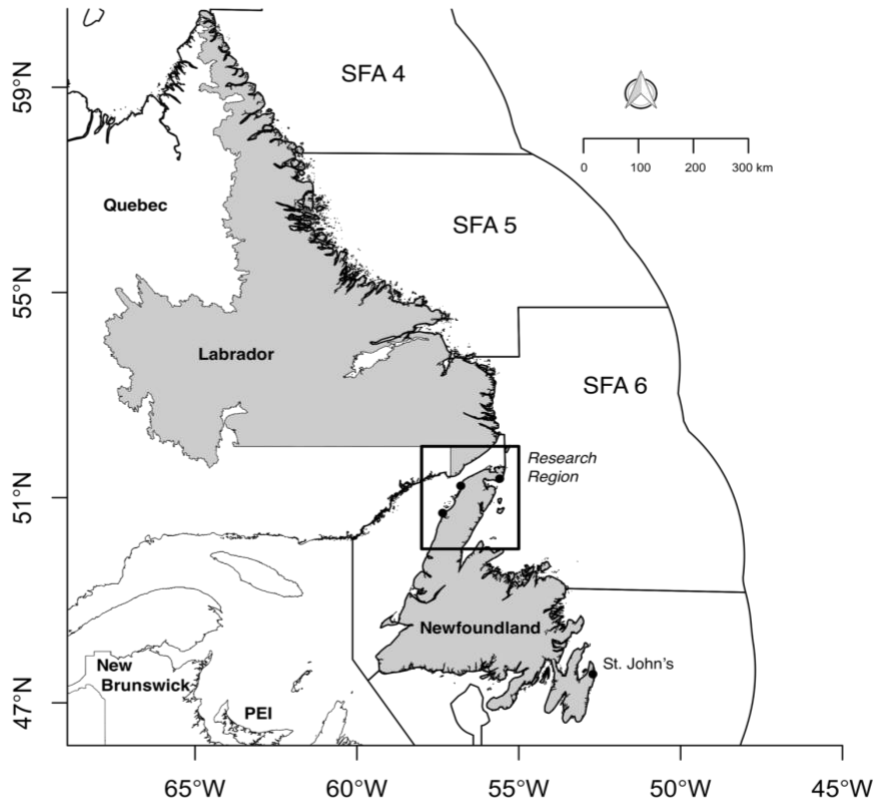


Figure 3.1: Map of Case Study Region. Close-up of study area highlighted by a black box and presented below with select communities highlighted due to their population size and presence of a processing plant

The fishery is composed of inshore and offshore fleets, which in some cases, like the Northern shrimp, are clearly delineated. The inshore fishery is composed of small boats (under 35') and the midshore boats (35-65'), both of which land their catches in the processing plants in the region as mandated by the provincial minimum processing requirement (MPR), a policy ensuring economic benefits of the fishery stay onshore (Newfoundland and Labrador Regulation 2007). The inshore fishery brings wide-ranging economic benefits to the communities of the region, to onshore businesses as well as to municipal governments (Carruthers et al. 2019). In particular, the processing sector provides a significant source of employment, even though it is seasonal and suffers from overcapacity (MacDonald et al. 2013). In order to be financially stable year-round, processing plant workers depend on employment insurance (EI) from the government. These workers need to receive sufficient hours to qualify for federally distributed EI, widely seen as supporting communities with processing plants in the offseason. There are eight processing plants in the region, a number that has decreased in the past decade (FLR 2017), partly due to lack of product as well as rationalization, defined in this context as “an industry-wide reduction in production capacity” (Walsh 2011, p.85). This restructuring, although motivated in part by ecological restraints, acts as a stressor on the GNP due to the regions many rural and widely dispersed towns.

The GNP is composed of dozens of small towns, defined by Municipalities Newfoundland and Labrador (MNL) as having populations under 3,500. The region had permanent non-aboriginal settlement in the early 1900s, although the land was not settled in substantial numbers due to conflicts in settlement rights between the French and

English (Sinclair 1985). The small population of approximately 14,000 people (Simms & Ward 2016) continues in the region today with the larger towns of St. Anthony in the north and Port au Choix further south acting as regional hubs. Sources of employment for the region are in resource-based sectors (e.g., fish harvesting, forestry), services, and construction (White & Vodden 2014). The high dependence on increasingly variable natural resources, and the region's peripheral nature pose major governance challenges, requiring careful analysis about how policies, including those associated with CETA, would support rural, regional viability, for instance through enhancing access to markets.

3.6 Governing System

The governing system is comprised of structures, mechanisms, and processes that act to guide or steer the system that is being governed (Kooiman & Bavinck 2013). The governing system of the GNP includes the Canadian federal government, the Newfoundland and Labrador provincial government, many municipal governments, and interest groups including fisher associations and non-profit organizations. Simply stated, municipal governments focus on local matters, the province focuses on regulating fish processing and regional funding, and the federal government regulates the fisheries and provides financial assistance through EI and infrastructure projects.

At the local level, the municipal governments are responsible for day-to-day town matters such as water, waste management, public works projects, and in some cases advocacy for federal and provincial funding. The local reality is that these governments face increasing

responsibilities with limited human and financial capacities, which reduce their efficacy (Gibson 2014). In order to alleviate these pressures, there has been a push for regionalization. Those involved in this push for regional governance include the province-wide organization Municipalities Newfoundland and Labrador, academics studying the region (e.g., Vodden et al. 2014), and the Great Northern Peninsula Joint Council, a newly formed group of municipal leaders organizing to address persistent regional issues.

The provincial government's presence on the ground includes the Office of Public Engagement and Service Newfoundland and Labrador, both having offices in the town of St. Anthony. The provincial government, through the Department of Fisheries and Land Resources (FLR), regulates the seafood processing sector, which is a significant source of employment for the region. The provincial government provides funds for municipal projects and represents the province's interest to the federal government, from joining with the federal government to support funding to the fishing sector (DFO 2018a), to expressing provincial concerns in regard to trade agreement negotiations such as CETA (The House of Assembly 2013). Although the provincial government is an important actor for the fisheries in the province, the federal government has complete control over quota and access regulations.

Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) represents the Federal government in the management of fisheries across Canada. Their regional headquarters in Newfoundland and Labrador is situated in St. John's, with smaller offices in other parts of the province. They also have offices for the Coast Guard and the Canadian Food Inspection Agency in

the region. DFO is responsible for “the sustainable management of these resources to ensure long-term economic prosperity for those depending on the wealth of our oceans, lakes and rivers, their livelihoods, and the health of the ecosystems supporting those resources” (DFO 2016a, p. 1). DFO is most influential in fisheries management in its role in implementing federal fishery policy, including quota allocation, instituting management measures, and enforcing rules. Although DFO does not directly regulate the processing industry, their allocation and access policies have direct implications for the processing plants which depend on inshore quotas. As the quotas are decided on short-term time-frames, local communities are unable to seek longer-term solutions to economic troubles, having to adapt and prepare for the yearly quota changes, which have had a larger impact in the last few years following increased cuts.

One fishery, in particular, facing increased cuts is Northern shrimp fishery, whose production became significant since the decline in groundfish. The inshore fleet catches this resource predominantly in SFA 6, in part due to the Principle of Adjacency, which states that people closest to the resource should have priority in accessing said resource (Foley et al. 2013). The inshore also has some access to SFAs 4 and 5 but to a much lesser degree. The offshore, composed of much larger vessels, is allocated substantial quotas in many of the SFAs due to their historical use of these areas (DFO 2009, Foley et al. 2013). The offshore ships process and package their product at sea, with particularly significant holdings in SFAs 4 and 5.

Key aspects of the governing system are the policies and principles that inform quota allocation decisions as well as policies tailored to coastal community viability. These decisions are based on principles that justify access to fishing resources such as the Principle of Adjacency and other policies ensuring inshore fishery viability and onshore benefits (e.g., Fleet Separation policy and MPR). The Fleet Separation policy, for example, limits corporate influence on the inshore fishery (Cooper & Clift 2012), essential to rural coastal communities in the GNP. For this paper, we focus the analysis on the MPR, Principle of Adjacency, and to a lesser extent the Fleet Separation policy, although there are more policies that contribute to small-scale fishery viability that were implemented since the cod collapse (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014).

A regionally important governing actor is the St. Anthony Basin Resources Inc. (SABRI), a social enterprise that has a geographic focus on the tip of the peninsula. SABRI leases a quota for Northern shrimp to the offshore fleet and uses the royalties to secure projects that benefit the community (Foley et al. 2015). The downward trend in the Northern shrimp stock has led to SABRI's allocation being cut (shown in Table 3.1), limiting their functional capability. Despite the cut, SABRI still pushes for regional innovation, lobbying higher levels of government to bring high speed-internet to the region (Northern Pen 2017), an initiative that was only partially successful due to government inaction. This regional governance is, therefore, characterized by an active local civic sector that has limited interactions with the provincial government, resulting in a lack of meaningful action. There is a smaller organization specific to the GNP named the North of Fifty-Thirty Association (NOFTA), which administers royalties from their Northern shrimp

quota to small boat inshore fishers to achieve economic development goals has also seen their quota cut (Table 3.1 NOFTA quota indicated by ‘inshore aff. Cod Harvesters’). This organization represents around 300 inshore harvesters and has taken on a more vocal role in the region advocating on behalf of coastal communities. What complicates this matter further is that since both organizations benefit from quotas leased to the offshore fleet, they benefit from that sector being able to import their products into the EU, where a significant amount of Northern shrimp exports from Newfoundland are sent. Although both organizations act as important local institutions, it is suggested that their capacity, which is secured through their quota allocation, is weakened with quotas being so low.

Table 3.1: Northern shrimp quota allocation decisions for select actors. 'Inshore aff.' is abbreviated for 'Inshore affected.' Other allocations are not included (i.e., Innu allocation) which explains the total being higher than the summed amounts shown. Data compiled by the authors through data obtained through DFO.

Shrimp Fishing Area 6					
Year	SABRI Quota (t)	Inshore aff. Cod Harvesters (NP) Quota (t)	Inshore (t)	Offshore Quota (t)	Total Quota (t)
2008	3,000	3,000	59,613	16,612	85,725
2012	3,000	0	41,293	14,603	60,245
2014	3,000	0	31,637	13,559	48,196
2018	393	0	6,076	2,017	8,730
Shrimp Fishing Area 5					
Year	Inshore aff. Cod Harvesters (NP) Quota (t)	Offshore Quota (t) (combined offshore & offshore competitive)	Total Quota (t)		
2008	400	10,150	23,300		
2012	400	10,150	23,300		
2014	283	9,420	20,970		
2018	267	8,369	25,630		

Other key interest groups in the province are: the Fish, Food, and Allied Workers Union (FFAW), representing harvesters (both inshore and some offshore), plant workers, and other non-fishery related workers in the province; the Federation of Independent Sea Harvesters of Newfoundland and Labrador (FISH-NL), representing the interest of some

inshore harvesters in the province (although not certified by the Labor Board); and the Canadian Association of Prawn Producers (CAPP), which represents the offshore shrimp fleet in Canada. A non-fishery-based organization that works in the region is the Viking Trail Tourism Association, which looks to promote tourism, a sector with a growing influence regionally. These groups are important to look at due to their regional importance, their influences on quota allocation, or both in the case of the FFAW which, among other things, advocates for the Principle of Adjacency and addresses the issue of industry restructuring (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015).

3.7 CETA and the GNP Fisheries

CETA, as a new institution in the governing system of the GNP, adds complexity to how the fisheries are governed, and also changes the dynamics of the GNP through various interactions. As already observed, CETA induces change to domestic measures in the province's fishery, and allows easier trade into the EU, the largest import market for fisheries in the world (Bellmann et al. 2016). Directly, CETA eliminates all tariffs for seafood products entering the EU from Canada after seven years (GAC 2017b), further integrating the fishery into the global market through the lessening of trade barriers. CETA also enacts domestic policy change through a phase-out of the MPR policy, previously discussed as securing onshore benefits of the inshore fishery. This policy change has its origin in Chapter Two of the agreement, which deals with national treatment and market access for goods. National treatment, defined by the World Trade Organization (WTO) as "The principle of giving others the same treatment as one's own

nationals,” (WTO Glossary) provides the justification for this locally specific policy to be phased-out. Specifically, CETA states that neither of the parties subject to the agreement can “adopt or maintain any prohibition or restriction on the importation of any good of the other Party” (CETA, Article 2.11, p. 27).

This stipulation has a direct impact on the MPR, which is considered an unfair advantage to foreign firms, which do not have equal opportunity to bid for initial processing of the product. The phase-out of the MPR is not a proactive step by the government to lessen what the EU sees as a trade barrier, but is in the text of the agreement stating that the province has a three-year grace period before the article applies to “the export of unprocessed fish pursuant to Newfoundland and Labrador’s applicable legislation” (CETA, Article 2.11, p. 28). Another change to the governing system is the Atlantic Fisheries Fund (AFF), a jointly funded federal-provincial initiative established to provide funding to aid in modernizing the fishery. The AFF is an indirect result of CETA’s implementation, in part addressing concerns regarding the phasing-out of the MPR through its ‘infrastructure pillar,’ which includes funds for seafood processing modernization that could potentially aid in this sector’s viability. What these policy changes show (i.e., tariff reduction, MPR phase-out, AFF implementation) is that CETA has a direct impact on the structure of the governing system, as shown in Figure 3.2. Looking to the principles of the agreement and the institutions that make up the governing system, it is shown that although CETA is not incompatible with all existing institutions (e.g., compatible with the conservation-based measures of DFO and with market access goals of FLR), it does conflict with others that support the MPR, which CETA phases out.

The extent of this compatibility is shown when looking to Figure 3.2, specifically to all of the institutions that value the MPR (as indicated by the dark green arrow). CETA does not only phase-out a regulation at the provincial level, but does so in an environment where this regulation is supported by the majority of institutions in the region. This structural change, therefore, is presumed to have an impact on the systems-to-be-governed of the region.

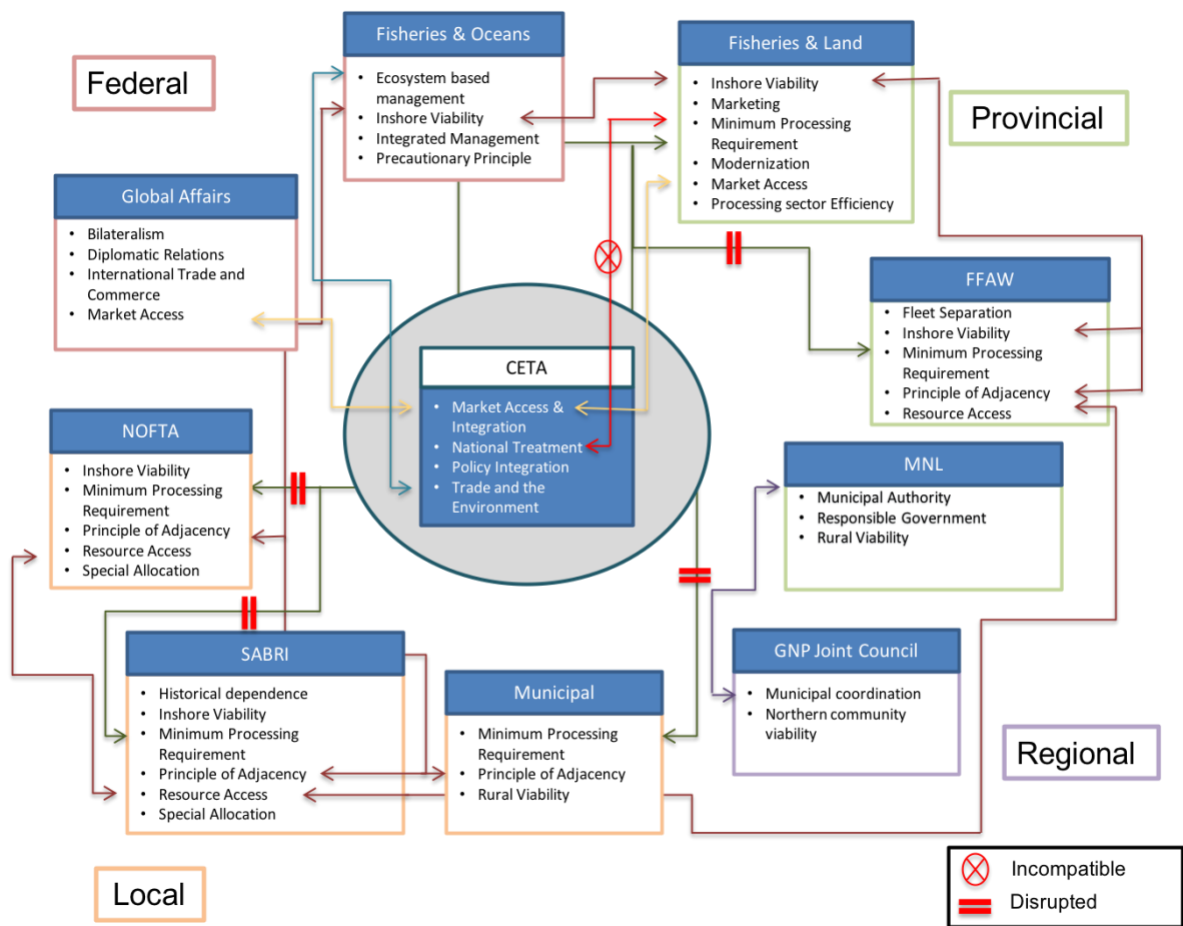


Figure 3.2: Governing system in the GNP with a focus on CETA. Predominant governing institutions are shown in separate boxes, with listed 'principles' and 'principle informed policies.' Although these 'principles' for each actor are not exhaustive, they represent the 'principles' related to the topics of this paper (i.e., trade in seafood, seafood trade policy, inshore fisheries, coastal communities). Not all principles could be shown for this figure and therefore if an institution does not have a principle shown, such as "resource conservation," that does not imply they do not believe or value that principle

The change in on-the-ground dynamics can only be speculated as CETA has only recently been implemented. Beginning with the natural system, it seems that CETA's potential impact would be very low, based predominantly on the analysis of the CETA text as well as the government reports. Although the stocks of both ecologically and economically important fisheries such as Northern shrimp and Northern cod are low, there is nothing to indicate that CETA would result in market-driven quotas that would override DFO stock assessments and management decisions. The "Trade and Environment" chapter of CETA addresses such concerns with both parties affirming they are dedicated to upholding levels of protection, stating that the encouragement of trade or investment by weakening environmental protection is inappropriate (CETA, Article 24.5, p.382). The final environmental assessment of the agreement, which was completed in 2017 by Global Affairs Canada, concludes that CETA may have a minor environmental impact due primarily to potential increases in greenhouse gas emissions, with no concerns directly regarding wild capture fisheries (GAC 2017a). As sustainability is essential for the profitability of fish stocks (Nguyen 2014), it also goes against the interest of international trade agreements to enable unsustainable fishing practices. This assessment suggests that CETA will not disrupt or weaken the interactions between the governing system and the natural system.

The potential impacts to the social system of the GNP are much harder to predict, primarily due to the challenges that the region is already facing related to resource access for the fish harvesters and the viability of the processing sector. A prospective economic analysis conducted by the Canadian Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer in 2017

suggested that Canada would increase exports of seafood products to the EU, with the EU's seafood imports into Canada changing very slightly (OPB 2017). The majority of benefits are suggested to come from the tariff reduction as well as preferential trade advantages (GAC 2017b). Further in-depth examination of the governing system and its interactions with the harvest and post-harvest sectors can help provide some insights about the potential impact of CETA on the fisheries-dependent communities.

The harvesting and the processing sectors are mostly structured around the management decisions by both provincial and federal actors. Song and Chuenpagdee's (2015) analysis found that the principles underlying CETA, particularly the non-discrimination provisions of trade shown primarily through the phase-out of the MPR, are in conflict with the very policies that support "inshore, community embedded, small-scale fisheries" (pp. 23-24). Another policy that supports the inshore fishery of the GNP is the Principle of Adjacency (Foley et al. 2015), which also can be seen as contradicting the national treatment and market access principles of CETA (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015, Sinclair 2013). This concern has also been raised in a briefing issued by the Library of Parliament in 2014 which suggested that, although CETA recognizes the right of governments to regulate their natural resources sectors (including fisheries), licensing policies such as Fleet Separation could be in conflict with market access rules if not explicitly exempted (Nguyen 2014). Accepting that the viability of the fisheries of the GNP is predominantly subject to management measures, an institution that challenges the principles undergirding such measures will have impacts that are more wide-ranging than just the tweaking of tariffs. CETA, which contributes to a contradiction of principles in Canadian

fisheries governance (i.e., inshore protections vs. national treatment), ultimately limits the functioning of the governing system, a finding corroborated by looking directly to the GNP.

Focusing on the GNP rather than the entire province highlights the importance of local institutions and what CETA means for the viability of the local population. In particular, the MPR phase-out, which has been pointed to as a potential threat to communities with processing plants (Sabau & Boksh 2017, Song & Chuenpagdee 2015), presents a structural change to the governing system. Although CETA phases out the MPR over three years instead of immediately (CETA, Article 2.11, p. 28), and the change only concerns seafood products destined for the EU market, it presents an added pressure on processors who face aging workforces and current lack of product due to quota cuts. If the governing system is to be responsive to the system-to-be-governed, for example, by providing support to a weakened processing industry, it now has limited functioning capacity with CETA cemented into law. In this sense, CETA is not acting as a direct deathblow to the industry but alters interactions and changes policy to fulfill an international obligation rather than a regional one.

When we look to the GNP through the governance lens, the factors that enable the most interaction and capacity building are the local institutions (i.e., SABRI, NOFTA, Municipalities) and the policies that support inshore access (i.e., Principle of Adjacency, Fleet Separation policy) and onshore benefits (i.e., MPR). When we look to CETA, the largest changes on the onset are structural and functional, first shown through the

implementation of tariff reductions, which enable market access, and second, in the domestic policy change, which contributes to a weakening of processing sector protection. This suggests that the governing interactions will be limited in the long term, creating a less flexible governing system. Although simplistic, this presentation of the GNP through a governance lens shows an initial incompatibility between the region's governing system and CETA, whose policies at the highest institutional level contribute to a weakening of community-based protections.

3.8 Discussion and Conclusion

Can the natural, social and governing systems of the GNP handle the institutional changes introduced through CETA? The implementation of CETA raises several questions, as it has implications for resource governance at the local level, as well as the provincial and national levels. The research presented here, loosely following 'governability assessment' (Kooiman et al. 2005), shows a fishery governed predominantly through the mode of hierarchical governance that exhibits pockets of inshore protection through some policies and principles. These policies, although important for the inshore fishery of Newfoundland and Labrador, still leave the GNP fishery characterized by low governability due to both weakened fish stocks and access related issues. This implies that even if CETA has a minor negative impact on the GNP's governing interactions, it could amplify the persistent governance challenges of the region.

The results of this research show a system in transition, grappling with social and environmental stressors that are catalyzed by a governing system that is slow to respond and inflexible. Although the governing system has policies that, in principle, contribute to inshore fishery viability, these policies are not dynamic enough to implement course corrections when fish stocks face rapid decline. This current system, therefore, is not able to mediate change coming from the increasingly globalized seafood market. In the absence of needed structural change, the region is now undergoing institutional change brought to it via CETA. Although the impacts of CETA are initially minor at the onset of the agreement, these changes are being enacted on a system that is currently unable to address the challenge of adequate resource access. CETA promises increased trade and therefore increased market access opportunity, but the absence of support for local institutions and continued structural incompatibility hamper the agreement from having a net-positive impact on the region in the long-term.

What this research has found is that CETA has varying effects at the different system levels through its language around trade and the environment, market access and national treatment, and the agreement's broader spill-over effects, which include the creation of the AFF. CETA is unlikely to impact the natural system-to-be-governed, with the scientifically-based management of the fisheries not changing due to market pressures, as laid out in the text of the agreement (CETA, Article 24.5), therefore suggesting alignment with the conservation principles of the governing system. CETA offers fewer concrete commitments to the social system-to-be-governed, with the effects found in how it impacts governing interactions between the governing system (of which it is a part) and

the system-to-be-governed. On the whole, CETA's interactions with the GNP fisheries can be summarized by its impact on the governance structure, the governing function, and ultimately the governing interactions, as detailed below.

First, the research shows that CETA directly adds a new dimension to the governance structure of the region, acting as a durable institution with direct implications by expanding market access and having a direct effect on domestic policy change (i.e., MPR Phase-out and AFF implementation). Second, CETA modifies the governing function of the GNP by weakening regionally specific policies by way of codifying 'national treatment' provisions in the agreement (CETA, Article 2.11), changes which are almost impossible to modify now that the agreement has been implemented.

These structural and functional changes culminate in the third finding of this research, which is how CETA impacts the governing interactions of the region through its weakening of a local protection. This key finding is most prevalent in the interactions between the social system-to-be-governed and the governing system, in which the federal government, as the most influential player, signed on to an agreement, which explicitly resulted in policy changes that conflicted with local principles. As an international trade agreement, CETA, through its structural changes, aids in glossing over the significance of regional policies, ultimately limiting interactions with the system-to-be-governed, and contributing to poor governance. As these findings suggest the downside of limited interaction, the way forward may be through improving governance interaction that facilitates market access without weakening regionally specific policies. These findings

are particularly important when considering that asymmetrical power relations pose complications for meaningful governing interactions (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2018). They also raise questions regarding CETA and international trade agreements more broadly. Tangible impacts of trade are easily measured through export/import rates and commodity price changes but measuring their change on governing interaction is an area that requires further examination, as it can aid in prospectively analyzing the effects large institutional changes can have on a system.

Governing systems in fisheries globally need to address the effects that the arc towards modernization, global integration, and efficiency have on fisheries. In the GNP, CETA can be seen as inevitable, with global integration increasing and with seafood being among the most traded food commodities globally (Asche et al. 2015). Bavinck et al. (2018, p. 50) argue that the challenges facing fisheries are increasing, noting that “social struggles in fisheries often revolve around disputes over the distribution of resources and opportunities – a topic, which, in an age of increasing zero-sum games and an alarming surge of socio-economic inequality, requires significantly more attention.” If coastal communities do not feel informed or included in the governance before a trade agreement is put in place, they will not be able to prepare for the complexity and change that it brings.

What is needed in the GNP, or Canadian fisheries management more broadly, is a system that can be more responsive to change, with robust local and regional institutions that can aid in this flexibility. A responsive system, with institutions facilitating better quality

interactions between the fisheries and the governing system, could address the change that CETA brings in a holistic way, rather than one-shot funding approach as documented in the implementation of the AFF. Creating stronger institutions locally could aid in dealing with the constantly changing nature of fisheries, and with the change that CETA brings. CETA, which allows for integration with the EU market presents the opportunity to provide synergies with local fishing communities if it did not impose regulation (or re-regulation) on social management measures (e.g., MPR phase-out) and instead allowed for coastal communities to benefit from trade by overlapping with their principles — similar to the synergies offered through the alignment of conservation based language in the agreement with the federal fisheries management of DFO. Echoing Sabau and Boksh's (2017) call for a focus on domestic policy, this paper suggests that government initiatives should address the structural issues that persist in the fishery, beginning with a bolstering of the domestic protections that have aided in the viability of the inshore. This call is not radical, considering recent amendments to the Canadian *Fisheries Act* that allows the Minister to consider, among other things, the “social, economic and cultural factors in the management of fisheries” (Bill C-68 p. 4; House of Commons 2018). Focusing on local considerations is also consistent for the SSF Guidelines, which, in their call for increased market access for small-scale fisheries, also state the need to provide capacity development locally in order to minimize potential negative impacts of trade (SSF Guideline 7; FAO 2015).

The main contribution of this study to the wider discourse surrounding globalization and small-scale and inshore fisheries is the institutional analytical approach taken. Focusing

on international trade agreements as institutions is an approach that can be taken up by researchers and practitioners globally to examine how other institutional changes interact with small-scale fishery governance. This research suggests that other marine governance mechanisms, such as marine protected areas, for example, could also be provisionally assessed in this way. This ‘institutional’ framing is, however, not the end of the analysis, as it is largely based on secondary data. To inform the fuller governance framework, the institutional analytical approach is a first step that ‘takes stock’ of the case study region. Fieldwork in the case study region is required to discover the finer nuances that complete the system, to fully understand governing interactions, and to better inform the governability assessment.

CHAPTER 4:

COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE

This chapter builds off the previous manuscript to present the findings from the fieldwork portion of this research. Fieldwork was done to complete the second step in this analysis, capturing initial responses to CETAs implementation and subsequent policy change.

4.1 Introduction

On May 12th, 2016 the Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador welcomed 23 European Ambassadors to the easternmost province of Canada, stating: “As one of the province's largest trading partners, participating in the European marketplace provides tremendous opportunities for local companies to improve competitiveness and access lucrative international markets. This will be especially true when the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement - CETA comes into force.” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2016).

This event occurred a year before CETA, fully titled the Canada-European Union (EU) Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, was implemented in December 2017.

The position from the provincial government presented a marked turn from federal-provincial discussions just a few years prior, when in 2013, the previous Progressive Conservative Premier, issued a formal complaint to the federal government for the way it handled CETA negotiations regarding the province’s fish processing regulations, stating: “The gravity of this transgression and attack on intergovernmental relations has forced me

to reconsider my government's continued engagement in the CETA negotiation" (House of Assembly 2013). That statement was in reference to the federal government's insistence on enacting a domestic policy change, a phase-out of the province's minimum processing requirement (MPR), the provincial policy that mandates the minimum processing of seafood products by plants based in the province (Newfoundland and Labrador Fish Inspection Act 2007). This change, demanded by EU negotiators, was a controversial move in Newfoundland and Labrador, a fishery-reliant province. These statements offer a peek into the complexity surrounding the policies of international trade agreements and how they have significant regional and local implications for fisheries (Crona et al. 2015).

To contribute to improving understanding about trade policy implications, this chapter builds on the previous institutional analysis done in Chapter Three, to further contextualize how CETA interacts with the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) where the natural resource sector, which includes fisheries, employs 1,740 people with an additional 610 people employed in fish processing (Gibson 2013). The GNP is highly involved with the Northern shrimp fishery (*Pandalus borealis*), a high-value export species, as well as other fisheries including, but not limited to Snow crab (*Chionoecetes opilio*), and the tepid resurgence of the Northern cod (*Gadus morhua*) (DFO 2018d). Despite an established connectivity to global markets (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015), the GNP is experiencing issues related to dwindling fisheries stocks as well as projected human population decline (Simms & Ward 2016). This condition makes it a prime case study to investigate the effect of international trade agreements, like CETA, on local communities,

and to explore pathways towards mitigation. Although CETA has recently been discussed in terms of how it may affect the fisheries province-wide (Sabau & Boksh 2017, Foley & Mather 2017), the communities of the GNP have expressed specific interest in CETA and its possible effects on the economy and fishery of their region (Harris Centre 2017).

Since CETA has only recently come into force, this chapter reports on the initial responses from key stakeholders in the GNP. Although ‘responses’ in the context of communities in transition often refer to coping and adapting strategies (Bennett et al. 2016), for the purpose of this research they represent people’s views and perceptions of CETA, serving as an early appraisal of this change. Specifically, this research examines how CETA, and the changes it enacts, interacts with the fisheries of the GNP in terms of aiding in their viability or contributing to vulnerabilities. This builds on the previous analysis by taking a community-centered approach to examine local concerns related to trade policies, with subsequent findings contributing to an understanding of how free trade and market access policies impact fisheries in the broader context.

In the following, an overview of international trade agreements in fisheries and consequences on coastal communities is presented as background for this chapter. Next, the theoretical framework is explained, laying out how this approach addresses the complexity of CETA. Following the methods, the results present the initial responses to CETA from key informants. As the initial responses centered around three aspects of change, these are further examined and contextualized for their importance in the region.

4.2 International Trade and Coastal Communities

International trade is a facet of globalization, defined as “an increase in the rate of exchange of resources and information across geographic regions and cultures” (Frank et al. 2007, p. 385). International trade agreements are continuing to be implemented at a steady rate as shown by the recently signed United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement and the renegotiated Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, which include some of the world’s largest fishing nations (e.g., Peru and Japan). Whether globalization is on the decline (Flew 2018) or is increasing (Randhir 2016), the implementation of various trade agreements around the world stresses the need to investigate their impacts at all levels.

Recent literature has shown that seafood has become one of the most traded food commodities globally (Asche et al. 2015), exemplifying the significant transformation in the global nature of seafood in the past few decades (Anderson et al. 2018). Although captured and cultured fisheries have existed globally for hundreds of years (Berkes et al. 2006), the rise in fish trade has implications for all aspects of the fish value chain. For instance, global trade in seafood products has been shown to add significant stress on marine social-ecological systems (Perry et al. 2011), with the pressures of trade liberalization on fisheries likely to vary on a variety of factors, including domestic fisheries management (Bellmann et al. 2016). The need for a greater understanding of its effects at the local level is also called for, given that “it is at the local scale that globalization is anchored, subsidized and transformed...” (Rankin 2003, p. 727). The

local focus, in particular, has resulted in a better understanding of coastal community responses to global market pressures, as exemplified in studies of rural fishing communities in the U.S. states of North Carolina (Child 2018) and Louisiana (Harrison 2012) that were both facing increased vulnerability, due in part to the flooding of the global market with alternative or cheaper seafood products. Another study examining the sea cucumber trade in Mexico (Bennett & Basurto 2018) found that rapid market integration undermined local commons governance, suggesting that effective governance mechanisms could mediate market pressures.

Although research has been done looking at the corporate effect on global seafood production (Osterblom et al. 2015), and on the effect of international trade on small-scale fisheries in terms of market competition and spillover pressures (Crona et al. 2016), there is a need to focus on understanding changes in policies and institutions as a result of trade policy implementation. Specifically, community responses to policy changes related to international trade agreements may need to be considered to further the understanding of globalization's impact at the fishing community level. Fishery-dependent coastal communities around the world have faced significant changes in the past few decades, in part due to the regional and global restructuring of social, political, industrial, and environmental factors (Ommer 2007). As these social struggles are increasing globally, there needs to be further attention to the transnational forces and institutions that are shaping conditions at the local level (Bavinck et al. 2018). As global markets have been shown to manifest themselves in different ways on small-scale fisheries (Drury O'Neill et al. 2018), and inshore fisheries have had their interests compromised in bilateral

negotiations (Scholtens et al. 2019), examining the agreements that facilitate these global market interactions can further the understanding of how these economic instruments play out in local contexts.

4.3 Research Theory and CETA

As coastal communities are unique in the challenges they face, a governance approach with a nuanced view of both social and ecological pressures is necessary. Interactive governance theory facilitates a holistic and systemic approach to understanding all aspects of the governance system, focusing particularly on interactions between the system that is being governed, especially local communities, and the governing institutions (Kooiman et al. 2005). Interactive governance is ultimately “an approach to problem solving and opportunity creation” that, through inclusion, participation and knowledge sharing, allows interactive learning to occur (Kooiman & Jentoft 2009, p. 834). As has been argued, marine and fisheries governance rests on images and assumptions of how the world works according to various stakeholder groups, necessitating the research to constantly question governing interventions, especially in terms of who loses or who gains (Jentoft 2018). Thus, Van Assche et al. (2019, p. 8) call for narrative informed, coastal-specific governance approaches to address the issues facing coastal communities, which they deem as being particularly vulnerable due to “recent evolutions in the global socio-ecological system.”

In the context of this study, the analysis of CETA using interactive governance theory and narrative-based and informed experience of actors involved with the fishery is an opening into the understanding of the influence of international trade agreements at the community level, presenting a focus on the social system-to-be-governed. CETA is billed as a “modern and progressive trade agreement” (EU 2016) that aims to integrate the economies in goods and services of Canada and the EU member states. This agreement is an example of the new generation of trade agreements that includes language on labor standards and environmental protections (Bartels 2017), social values and commitments, as well as addressing indirect and non-tariff barriers (Tejpar 2017). Aspects of CETA that directly affect the seafood industry of Newfoundland and Labrador include clauses related to market access and national treatment, which have direct implications for fishery policy in the province (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015).

Although CETA is still relatively new, there have been studies and critiques of the agreement that this research seeks to build on. CETA has some potential for synergies for a just trading relationship, with a commitment for sustainable development in all economic, social, and environmental decisions (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015). Critiques though, such as from Sabau and Boksh (2017, p. 230), state that although CETA may bring some benefits, policies are needed to safeguard communities for them to “enjoy the gains from trade within safe ecological and social limits.” Sinclair (2013, p. 10) notes that such international agreements put co-management measures at odds with trade, which aims to “root out such geographical discrimination.” Finally, Foley and Mather (2017, p. 13) argue that the fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador are already facing strong

pressures from corporate interests, and the introduction of CETA would raise question about “obligations that run counter to the policies that have protected small-scale harvesters and coastal communities from neoliberal globalization.”

Following from the above, this study utilizes narrative and informed experience from actors involved with the fishery to examine the influence of CETA at the community level. As posited by interactive governance, CETA is viewed as a modern economic institutional arrangement, which may be received differently by stakeholders, in accord with their values and images of governance (Chuenpagdee 2011a), and based on their understanding of how CETA may affect them and the region. Seeking the initial responses from local stakeholders in an export-reliant fishing region of Newfoundland will help inform ways for communities participating in trade to safeguard and prepare themselves for the institutional and policy change described in Chapter Three.

4.4 Methods

A field visit to the GNP took place during May and June 2018. This phase of the research was conducted primarily through key informant interviews during this field visit, supplemented by informal conversations with relevant actors in the area. Purposive sampling was used to identify participants, specifically ‘criteria’ and ‘snowballing’ forms of purposive sampling (Patton 1990). Identifying key informants means having a set of criteria set-out at the onset of the study (Davis & Wagner 2003); therefore this study identified ‘key informants’ if they were (1) working in the fishery, processing sector, or

regional development or governance of the region, (2) decision makers regarding fisheries policy, seafood processing policies, or regional governance either based in or outside of the region, or (3) were mentioned by two informants as being an expert on the fisheries, processing sector, or governance of the region. Although all participants had to meet one of these three criteria, some informants were initially identified by asking regional contacts who was knowledgeable about the topic at hand (e.g., snowball sampling). Although the majority of interviews occurred during the field visit, further discussions were held with government actors in the provincial capital St. John's, as well as some follow-up phone interviews.

A total of 20 formal interviews were carried out, with key informants coming from a variety of backgrounds representing different interests regarding the fisheries and coastal communities. Table 4.1 organizes respondents as either 'local' or 'non-local' in order to effectively shield identities. Interviews followed a standard research protocol, with participants signing informed consent forms. These interviews took place in person and over the phone, lasting between 0.5 to 1.5 hours and following a research instrument that guided the topics discussed. Transcripts and notes from interviews were coded using a thematic analysis, informed by Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps for qualitative analysis which provide a guide but did not limit the flexibility of thematic analysis. This analysis began with creating notes when rereading the transcripts and interview notes, followed by an initial coding followed by collating codes into themes. The research instrument that guided these interviews was approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) of Memorial University (20182092-AR).

The interview data was supplemented by the analysis of the relevant documents, which included federal and provincial documents, EU documents, and various documents from media, academia, and non-profits.

Table 4.1: Research participants

Affiliation	Count
Local	13
Non-local	7
Total	20

4.5 Initial Responses to Change

Initial responses to CETA were varied, often with informants expressing both positive and negative views of the agreement, sometimes in the same statement. As summarized in Table 4.2, the main points that many key informants returned to were related to seafood tariff reductions, domestic policy change in the form of the MPR phase-out, and the joint federal-provincial Atlantic Fisheries Fund (AFF). Although CETA has many implications for the seafood industry nationally, these facets of the agreements are important for the disbursed and rural fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador, as further explained.

Table 4.2: Initial Responses from informant interviews

OVERARCHING THEME	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL
TARIFF REDUCTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased access to EU market - EU as largest seafood importer globally, and a higher income market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unequal benefits of tariffs - Market driven quota 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extent of benefit uncertain with minimal inshore resource access - Taking advantage of tariffs require change in structure of the fishery
MINIMUM PROCESSING REQUIREMENT (MPR) PHASE- OUT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Could act as a push to spark innovation in the sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Practically harmful, weakening processing sector - Symbolically harmful, adds to the narrative for needed rationalization - Direct threat to community viability - Employment concerns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Necessary concession for increased market access
ATLANTIC FISHERIES FUND (AFF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aiding single enterprises in Newfoundland with technology (e.g., long-line haulers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Viewed as hush money - Not adequate to address MPR phase-out - Short term funding for long-term problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unsure of extent of community-wide benefits

NON-CETA SPECIFIC RESPONSES	- Fish resource, although not substantial, is high quality	- Ecological pressures affecting stock dynamics	- Processing sector essential for coastal community viability
	- Fishery has potential for diversification	- Weakened shellfish stocks and laggard groundfish recovery	- Infrastructure integral to community viability
	- Policies that support inshore fishery and processing sector are important (e.g., MPR, Principle of Adjacency, Fleet Separation)	- Lack of fish allocated to inshore impacting processing sector	- Regional representation and organization needed
		- Market pressures (e.g., competition with markets that can provide year-round product)	- Uncertainty regarding the future of the region
		- Inequity in fishery regarding quota distribution	
		- Social concerns such as population decline and opportunity for meaningful employment	

4.5.1 Tariff Reductions

Tariff reductions have been touted by the Canadian government (GAC 2017b, GAC 2016) due to the size of the EU market and its increasing dependence on seafood imports (FAO 2018, Swartz et al. 2010). The tariffs are basically the main selling point of this agreement, with Global Affairs Canada (the department responsible for international trade) stating that “under CETA, 98% of EU tariff lines are immediately duty-free for Newfoundland and Labrador goods, including for metals, minerals and oil and most fish and seafood” – highlighting the benefits of the CETA to this resource-reliant province

(GAC 2016). An analysis of international trade agreements by the Library of Parliament of Canada, conducted in 2014, concluded that the “tariff eliminations contained in trade agreements with major fishery products importing markets have the potential to increase the competitiveness of Canadian fishery exports and to contribute to the economic viability of fishing communities” (Nguyen 2014, p. 7).

Informants mostly viewed the tariff reductions as positive, as the tariffs for fish and seafood products for exporting into the EU prior to the signing of the agreement were high (in some cases double digits) as shown in Table 4.3, especially when compared to other natural resources such as lumber and mineral products. There was hope, for instance, that a reduction in tariffs would allow some harvesters to have a better advantage selling to the EU, especially compared to fish harvesters from the United States who still face stiff tariffs to enter the EU market (Portland Press Herald 2017). One such view capturing the uncontroversial nature of lowering and eliminating tariffs was expressed as follows: *“Obviously having more access that’ll promote our products in the European Union can only be positive in the big picture and I think it’d lead to more jobs in Newfoundland and Labrador to tell you the truth.”* (Informant 6, 2018).

Table 4.3: Tariff lines that have been eliminated due to CETA

Affiliation	Count
Frozen Shrimp	12%
Cooked and peeled Shrimp in retail packages	20%
Frozen Snow crab	7.5%
Live Lobster	8%
Dried and Salted Cod	13%
Fresh or Chilled Halibut	15%
Frozen Herring	15%
Frozen Mackerel	20%

The positive views about tariff reduction were not unconditional, however, with concerns raised regarding the extent to which the benefits of such reductions would reach the inshore fishery of the region, particularly at the time of a weakened Northern shrimp stock (DFO 2017), and subsequent Northern shrimp quota reductions as shown in Figure 4.1. Even benefits to the offshore fleet may be questioned, given that since they were given access in the 1970s, they have packaged their product onboard to be shipped to Europe and Japan (Mather 2013).

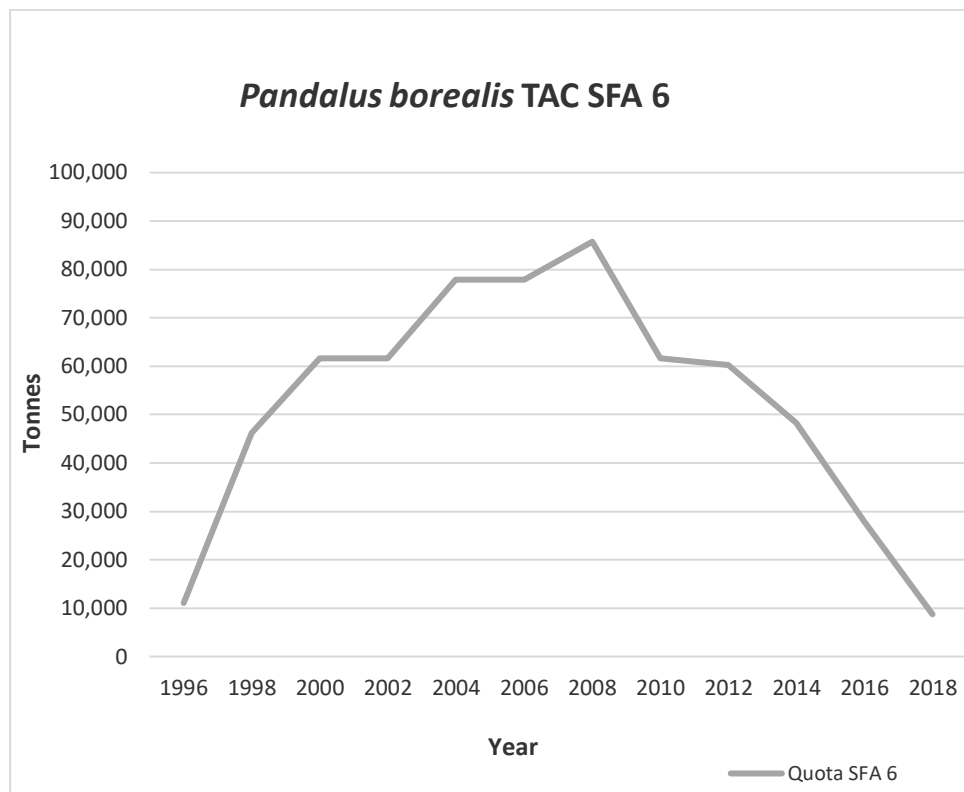


Figure 4.1: Northern shrimp (*Pandalus borealis*) total allowable catch for Shrimp Fishing Area 6. Chart created by author through data obtained from Fisheries and Oceans Canada

Further, some informants expressed concern of the feasibility of increased exports, particularly in shellfish which has been declining, and for groundfish which is recovering, albeit slowly. One local informant expressed their reservations by stating:

“My concern with CETA, free trade is a wonderful thing, if you got things to trade, but if you're going to put so much pressure and effort now to feed Europe, along with the US and Canada itself, if you're going to put that much more pressure on the Cod to find those quality products, what's it going to do to the species if it's already in trouble?”
(Informant 2, 2018).

The sentiment that tariff reductions were only beneficial when quotas were adequate was expressed by multiple informants in the region, often questioning why they should care about CETA at a time of such rapid stock decline, and subsequent minimal resource access. Although this concern of market-driven quotas (e.g., quota levels which are decided taking into market concerns rather than scientific assessments) was raised by some informants, DFO, the agency responsible for managing all fisheries in Canada, does not enforce market driven quotas. A non-local informant confirmed that demand for product does not factor in the decision-making process (Informant 17, 2018).

Responses from those in government differed, with informants expressing the view that the tariffs are a great win for the province's fisheries, with concern placed on how to equitably achieve such benefits. Representatives from provincial and federal government agencies were mainly concerned about people in the seafood industry being informed in order to take advantage of the agreement, the need for investment in certain sectors of the industry such as secondary processing, and the need to shift to a market-focus with an emphasis on quality rather than quantity (Ommer et al. 2017).

The overarching response from non-local informants was that tariff reductions present an opportunity, to be taken advantage of by a "modern and efficient" fishery. Some see this phrase as a code for a rationalization of the harvesting and processing sectors in the province, which assumes that the only way to achieve viability in the industry is through "efficient, lean, vertically integrated operations," an effort informed by neoliberal ideology (Walsh 2011, p. 93). Rationalization is a particularly sensitive issue in the

fishery, previously documented as a threat for inshore and small-boat harvesters elsewhere in the province (Smith et al. 2014). Although it was widely agreed in the region that the fishery needed to undergo changes, the key informants based in the GNP did not necessarily see that this should be done through a more corporate structure in the sector. Interviewing informants regarding tariffs quickly lead to discussions regarding what Newfoundland, particularly rural Newfoundland, had to concede for this trade barrier reduction, namely the province's MPR policy.

4.5.2 Minimum Processing Requirement

Contentious topics revealed during interviews, as well as reported on by media in the province, were related to policy changes that came in the wake of the CETA rather than facets of the agreement itself. The phase-out of the province's MPR, in particular, has been raised as an example of an elimination of a public policy that favors "local or national control and, under the guise of laissez-faire, to subordinate public policy to the interests of multinational corporations" (Sinclair 2013, p. 52). As the MPR aims to ensure that the benefits of the fishery are felt onshore, this phase-out can be seen as a direct threat to rural coastal communities that have processing plants such as the GNP.

Apprehensions surrounding the MPR-phase-out, set to occur three years after the agreement's implementation (2021), are coupled with concern for the viability of rural coastal communities (Carruthers et al. 2019), many of which rely on processing plants for employment (Foley et al. 2015). Speaking to the policy change, one informant stated that

policymakers need to envision what the future of small communities in Newfoundland and Labrador will look like; “*Do we want a rural Newfoundland? If there [are] no plants what industry is going to keep people in this region or in the rural part of this province?*” (Informant 3, 2018). There is a heavy reliance on the processing industry for communities as a form of employment, but processing plants have closed across the island in recent years, including in the GNP. A notable example is the fish processing plant in St. Anthony, a regional hub of the GNP that recently became a seasonal operation for the first time since it opened in 1999, due in part to quota cuts (Northern Pen 2018a). Although these closures have adverse effects on the community, some consider it necessary, arguing, for instance, that the restructuring is not happening fast enough for the industry to be competitive (Clift and Cooper 2014).

Although many informants recognized that the MPR phase-out occurred in order to achieve tariff reduction, they questioned whether such a trade deal was worth it. Some informants questioned why there was no study done on the possible impacts of such a policy change: “*We agreed to have the CETA deal, we signed on, but did we take into consideration the policies we have today and how’d you fix our fishery?*” (Informant 3, 2018). These anxieties have been playing out since the CETA negotiations were occurring earlier in the decade, at which time the provincial government was negotiating with the federal government over the EU’s insistence on Newfoundland and Labrador giving up its MPR in order for the CETA to be achieved. Although the policy was eventually agreed upon by the provincial government, publicly available documents of the correspondence on this topic showed discontent with the federal government’s

handling of the negotiations and the “widespread support for MPRs in communities and regions of NL” (House of Assembly 2013).

People involved with the inshore fishery support the MPR policy and have expressed discontent at its change in order for the CETA to be implemented — a change that is top-down and was imposed without consultation of coastal communities. Recognizing some uncertainty around the policy change, some informants did not see the MPR phase-out as a new threat to community viability. In fact, they considered it as a continuance of pressures being enacted on the sector through market pressures and lack of product.

Although some informants viewed the phase-out as inevitable due to the lack of seafood product, others were more concerned with the general state of the processing sector.

Some informants questioned whether there was enough product to even sustain the plants in the first place, with plants in the province closing well before the MPR phase-out is set to take place and with the main suppliers of these plants (inshore fishers) facing continued quota cuts, particularly in the shellfish fishery. *“What do we have to process?”*

(Informant 1, 2018) was a common refrain, and got at the supply issue for this sector. In the case that quotas were increased, there was uncertainty that there would be enough workers. Describing the complicated state of the sector, one mayor said; *“We're at a point where we don't know if we will have the workforce to operate the plants [or] not have enough plants for the workers”* (Informant 10, 2018).

A recurring statement by informants was the prediction that a large number of plants in the province would close, and the result will be a few pockets of high-quality processing, with some communities benefiting and others having to face the consequence of closing what is a significant source of employment in their communities. This sentiment was reinforced by government responses which spoke of rationalization, niche markets, and fewer but more specialized processing plants. This disconnect between community goals (wide-spread benefits) and government goals (restructured processing sector for a stable industry) informs much of the debate over the MPR phase-out, exposing the underlying tensions between the community and the governing system. This disconnect over what the future of the processing industry will look like, sets up a situation that disadvantages processing plants (and the jobs they support) who face stressors from quota cuts to inshore fishers, competition from cheaper substitutes, the phase out of sector-specific MPR policy, and pressures from corporate interests and policy advocates (Foley & Mather 2017). It is, then, in this environment where the main option to solve the sector's overcapacity is through government or market-imposed rationalization, rather than addressing the external stressors that have led to the present situation.

4.5.3 Atlantic Fisheries Fund

Instead of a debate focused on how to best keep the sector viable with widespread benefits and a regional balance, as proposed by the Great Northern Peninsula Fisheries Task Force (2006), the debate turns to how to modernize the sector through a limited funding scheme, the AFF. As a response to the MPR phase-out, the federal and provincial

government agreed to the implementation of a joint funding initiative, the AFF. The AFF is “intended to help transform and drive innovation in Atlantic Canada’s fish and seafood sector and to bring high value, high quality, and sustainable fish and seafood to markets at home and around the world” (DFO 2018a, p. 3). The first recipients of AFF funding were fish harvesters in Newfoundland and Labrador, some of which are based in the GNP. The fund was used for investments in harvesting technology such as long-liner haulers in order to catch a higher quality product and aid in the move back from shellfish towards groundfish fishery. This use of the fund is an initial response to CETA, attempting to modernize single-enterprise capability to be competitive in the global market.

The fund was initially created as a form of compensation for Newfoundland and Labrador to help the province’s seafood industry remain, according to correspondence between provincial and federal actors at time of negotiation, “a competitively viable one which is positioned to seize new market opportunities arising from CETA” (House of Assembly 2013). At the time, titled the *Fisheries Innovation and Adjustment Fund*, the money was intended for Newfoundland and Labrador. Although the money was solely intended for this province, it was later opened up to be available to all of the Atlantic Provinces (i.e., Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island). The expansion was considered unfair since the other three Atlantic provinces did not have MPRs to be phased out. So far, only a few fishing enterprises in the GNP has been successful in their attempt to access the AFF (Northern Pen 2018b).

The AFF received a mixed response in the GNP. Some key informants recognized the need for investment in the fishery, especially as leverage for their operations and to increase their financial viability: *“Investment in harvesters is not a bad thing. Money could best be used in investing in infrastructure...”* (Informant 15, 2018), and *“I think this fund will change, or create change, especially, you know most fishermen don’t have a lot of access to capital”* (Informant 10, 2018). On the negative side, it was viewed as a repetition of past management failures of fleet investment, e.g. the overcapitalization of the inshore, and like previous funding initiatives, *“the fund will be wasted away”* (Informant 9, 2018). The Fish, Food, and Allied Workers Union (FFAW), despite having received funding to invest in preparation for future groundfish fisheries (The Telegram 2018), also expressed discontent with the fund as it ended up being much less than initially promised for Newfoundland and Labrador’s fisheries (FFAW 2017). Another key informant expressed skepticism, seeing the AFF as a short-term response to the long-term changes:

“The Atlantic Fisheries Fund in my mind is pretty much hush money, ... the governments of the day want to get their political will to become reality, and they’ll do whatever they got to do to hush Newfoundland and their concerns about CETA and how it’s going to negatively impact Newfoundland’s economy... I think [the AFF] should be more done into exploration of different ways of thinking outside the box and find different ways to do the things that we need to do in order to have a sustainable fishery”
(Informant 13, 2018).

Similar sentiment was expressed by someone involved closely in the processing sector who conveyed that the AFF had no grand plan, only simple fixes, an approach that would not substantially aid the sector in having a competitive advantage in export markets. These concerns reflect the broader issues at hand in the governability of the fishery, with a perception that the government puts in place policies to placate the fishery and processing sector, while failing to put forward a vision for sustainable coastal communities and the fisheries that support them.

4.5.4 Access to Resource and Industry Change

The underlying issues facing the fisheries of the GNP inform how CETA is perceived and responded to by regional actors. For example, a recurring issue in the GNP is resource access, which if equitably distributed is critical to the survival of marginalized coastal communities (Foley et al. 2015, Berkes & Nayak 2018, Bennett et al. 2018). Although the GNP is comprised of multiple fisheries, one of the most profitable is Northern shrimp, a limited entry fishery managed by the federal government through DFO. Northern shrimp quotas, which are allocated based on geographically delineated shrimp fishing areas (SFAs), are divvied up between community organizations, aboriginal groups, and the inshore (<65 ft.) and offshore fleets (>100 ft.) (DFO 2009). Although multiple interests are allocated a portion of the quota, there is a concern in coastal communities regarding the lack of allocation given to the inshore, due to the importance of that fishery to the processing sector. The inshore fishery, which has smaller boats compared to the offshore, does not have the capacity to freeze and package their product at sea and is required to

follow the province's MPR. This results in a situation where the coastal communities of the region (and province) are reliant on the inshore fishery for product, innately connecting the processing sector to the health of the inshore fishery.

The concern over inshore viability, therefore, is extended to the processing sector. Further informing this dynamic is the inshore fisheries interactions with the offshore fleet which has had a historical reliance on the resources. One local informant expressed the concern in the following way; *"how do you compete with a 200-foot tractor freezer, and that's what's happening – shouldn't be in the same area"* (Informant 2, 2018), directly showing the competition present between the two entities. As the Northern shrimp fishery is particularly connected to the global market, the dynamics within it can inform the wider view of free trade in fisheries. Although CETA does not directly deal with access to quota, nor does it facilitate the access of European fleets in the fishery, the issue of resource access was consistently brought up in interviews and is important to consider when examining responses to CETA.

As many of the key informants interviewed brought up other issues not related to CETA, they also focused on the future of the fishery in the region. There seems to be a general sentiment that things will change, with a local informant stating, *"it's a lot of change and we got to keep up, we got to evolve with technology."* (Informant 13, 2018). Feeling unprepared, some people expressed a desire for more knowledge of how change enacted due to CETA may impact their fisheries and communities. When posing this concern to a non-local informant and asking whether there were specific outreaches planned to advise

the fishery, their response indicated that it was not necessarily the government's job to convey the information: *"Well I don't, I think it's being conveyed, I don't know if it's really being conveyed through government as much as it is, it's really up to industry, they're big boys or big girls."* (Informant 17, 2018). This informant went on to say that the offshore was probably more informed and better prepared as their more vertically integrated structure directly connected them to the global market:

"Part of being there is fishing year-round, part of fishing year-round is vertically integrated, we don't have vertical integration really, we have it in the offshore, we don't have it in the inshore, I think since we don't have it in the inshore, I think the inshore small boat fishermen and the processors have to work in lock-step."

This suggests that, in addition to lack of product, the structure of the inshore fishery is not as well poised to benefit from CETA, a premise that would result in a continued closing down of processing plants with the corresponding negative community effects.

Comparative advantage is also due to access to information, as noted by Bresnihan (2016, p. 165): "benefiting those in the industry who are better able to play the game, rather than [reflect] or addressing the situated social and material needs of particular fisheries."

Despite the recognized benefit from vertical integration, none of the key informants at the community level expressed any desire to have a more corporate-structured inshore fishery or processing sector. Rather, they were proud of the policies that ensure inshore viability and processing sector independence, particularly the Fleet Separation policy, mentioned

in Chapter Three as being enacted to limit the influence of processing companies on fishing enterprises (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014; DFO 1996). The independence of inshore harvesters and processing sector that had widespread community benefits was important to key informants in the region. Although these inshore protections are beneficial to communities in terms of securing their independence and limiting the pressure to move to a more vertically-integrated fishery, they present a disconnect with the market homogenization offered through CETA (Sinclair 2013).

This raises the question, as posed by many key informants based in the GNP, of whether the inshore will experience significant benefit from CETA's implementation, and what changes are necessary to enable increased market integration while not compromising inshore protections against more neoliberal policies. This concern is also catalyzed by declining fish stocks and the potential of increased weakening of domestic protections due to the market access and national treatment principles of CETA (Sinclair 2013).

Although the province already had to give up the MPR protection due to these principles of the agreement, it remains a question of whether the inshore fishery and processing sector can benefit from CETA and international trade without giving up further protections that would alter the way benefits from the fishery are distributed throughout the region.

4.6 Contextualizing Responses

Although CETA brings with it institutional changes with direct effects on regional fisheries policy, initial responses indicate that there is no consensus about the agreement. Some think that CETA, like other market and trade intervention, is contributing to the weakening of the processing industry through eliminating the MPR, a policy widely seen as ensuring community benefits of the fishing industry. It remains a question, therefore, of the extent to which CETA, or future trade agreements, will weaken other protections that, so far, have allowed Newfoundland to retain some semblance of inshore independence and coastal community viability. On the other hand, the initial community responses expressed hope that the agreement offers an opportunity to move the fishery towards a higher quality product, ultimately ensuring its success in the global market.

While trade may not be inherently incompatible with policies that ensure local community viability, the key changes discussed (i.e., tariff reduction, MPR phase-out, AFF implementation) suggest certain degrees of conflicts between the governing system, coastal communities, and free trade. First, for the inshore fishery, a lack of an equitable, substantial, and long-term quota guarantees render tariff reduction less than satisfactory until harvester access to quota is increased. Second, although the MPR phase-out is only applied to products destined for the EU, when coupled with other pressures (e.g., aging workforce, corporate influence, cheaper imports) (MacDonald et al. 2013), it supports the narrative that the sector needs to be restructured to fit the needs of the global market. With the weakening of this local protection came the AFF, which seeks to bolster an industry through a short-term funding scheme. As this policy change was widely seen as consolation for the MPR phase-out, it raises the question of how effective it will be in

aiding an industry with weakened provincial protections. These two domestic policy changes highlight the complexities in expanding market access, with the government weakening local protections to achieve tariff reductions, and then allocating money to the sector in order for it to remain viable without the protections they previously relied on.

Regardless of the policy changes enacted by CETA, there was a major sentiment that CETA was already in place and there was a need to try to seek benefits from it. To some extent, CETA elicited hope that reduced trade barriers would act as a positive force in the region, pushing for needed investments to modernize processing plants, as well as a change of mindset to be more globally focused. Although informants expressed skepticism in the significance of such an agreement, due to the EU being only one of many export markets for their fisheries, there is a cautious optimism that reflected years of turbulence in the fishery and the region that a specialized fishery focused on exports, mixed with regional development and tourism initiatives could create a synergistic environment for innovation in the region (Informant 18, 2018) . The region's high reliance on the fishery has been tested both recently with the decline of Northern shrimp stock allocation as well as the massive disruption of the cod collapse in the early 1990s (Schrank 2005, Mather 2013). The now predicted move back to a groundfish focused fishery, as shown in both governmental and non-governmental preparation (Newfoundland and Labrador 2018), is creating more uncertainty, particularly in how widespread the benefits will be, and if there will be adverse impacts from a transition that takes place in an increasingly market-pressured environment.

From a governance perspective, it is clear that a disconnect persists in the fisheries of the region. Mismatches are occurring between the governance modes (i.e., governing system and the social system-to-be-governed) highlighted by the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of policies for the processing sector (e.g., weakening domestic protections) and viability of the inshore fishery (e.g., unequitable allocations). Although ‘modernization’ in the fishery is supported by both non-local and local informants, this is an ambiguous goal. Some, particularly in the government and policy realm, see it being achieved through continued rationalization and concentration of both the inshore fishery and the processing sector (Informants 7 & 17, 2018), even though a past provincial government report warned that “[t]he impact on communities where plants close could be severe, as many of these towns have no alternative industry or seafood supplies to sustain an economic foundation” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2015, p. 39). Although these same officials state that the MPR policy change is of little consequence, due to (1) the AFF implementation, (2) the lack of EU desire for unprocessed product, (3) previous allowance of unprocessed product out of the province (European Council 2015), it is not only the MPR that threatens the sector but also the continued lack of adequate resource for the inshore fishery which provides the product, and the ever-present market (e.g., cheaper competition) and corporate (e.g., vertical integration) pressures enacted on the industry, contributing to rationalization and the corresponding community impacts. Looking to the MPR as one example shows that, although CETA is not viewed as enacting large change on the region, it contributes to a series of factors on certain aspects of the fishery, which in the case of the processing sector is shown to contribute as a stressor.

Government actors also fail to imagine the impacts of this policy change in a future scenario. If, for example, the groundfish fishery makes a recovery, there won't be a protection to ensure that fish has to be processed in the GNP, particularly if it is argued that the Fleet Separation policy, for example, acts as a trade barrier just as the MPR did, rendering these plants too inefficient for the global market.

This research, therefore, suggests that the long-term goals between the governing system and the communities and fisheries are not aligned, particularly in regard to what makes an 'efficient' fishery. Is it a fishery that bends to the whims of the market, or is it a fishery that is governed with the central focus of ensuring community benefits?

CHAPTER 5:

IMPLICATIONS ON SEAFOOD TRADE DISCOURSE AND GOVERNANCE

This chapter synthesizes the institutional analysis and the initial responses to CETA and associated policy changes by further explaining how the principles of the agreement undermine the economically important processing sector. This sets the context for a brief discussion of the seafood trade discourse outside of the specific case of CETA, which follows. From this, policy recommendations for coastal communities impacted by international trade policy are presented, concluding with a call for a principled governance of seafood trade policy.

5.1 Research Implications

Studying international trade policy at the regional and community level has allowed for an examination of how seafood trade is governed and plays out in fisheries, especially the seafood processing industry that face multiple external exposures. The processing sector in the GNP plays an important role in local employment (Foley et al. 2015), providing wide-spread economic benefits to communities and municipalities (Carruthers et al. 2019), and along with the fishery, is fundamentally important to food security, history, culture and identity in Newfoundland and Labrador (Ommer et al. 2017). As shown in Chapter Three of this thesis, the principles that govern the seafood trade, as implemented

by CETA, are directly in conflict with, and subsequently alter, the MPR policy. The initial responses from Chapter Four show that CETA is not universally accepted, but is rather controversial, especially when considering the continuance of many external stressors facing the processing sector.

While government actors downplay the significance of the MPR phase-out, some community actors highlight it as potentially having a larger impact. As explained in Chapters Three and Four, the lack of adequate resource access in the form of inshore quota cuts to the shellfish fishery acts as the fundamental stressor on this sector. Next, market and corporate forces, along with a push for rationalization, add pressure to the sector (Foley & Mather 2017). These exposures culminate in a sector that is more fragile to changes such as the MPR phase-out, raising its vulnerability and ultimately contributing to self-rationalization (MacDonald et al. 2013). Figure 5.1 is a conceptualization of this process and the subsequent direct (employment impact) and indirect (equity implications) impacts on community viability.

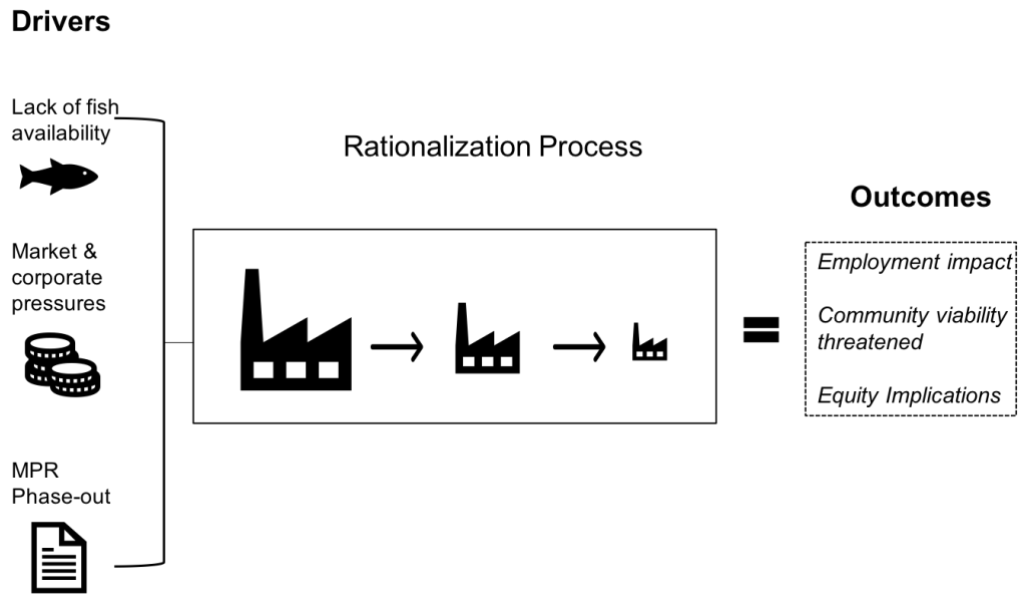


Figure 5.1: Schematic showing how the MPR phase-out acts as one of multiple drivers that feed into the rationalization process and the outcomes regarding community viability

These impacts are not desirable at the community level. This is an example where the issues with fisheries management policies (lack of quota allocated to inshore with the corresponding result of the processors not having access to seafood products) are not addressed through trade policy (reduced seafood quotas for a sector that does not have adequate access to product to take advantage). The potential consequences of the MPR phase-out, therefore, show that although the seafood trade policy may not damage fisheries and coastal communities on its own, it can contribute to the decline of both the resources and the people depending on them.

5.2 Contributing to the Seafood Trade Discourse

This thesis has laid out the benefits and knowledge gained from examining how an export-oriented, community-based fishery (GNP) interacts with a new international trade agreement (in this case, CETA). It emphasizes a nuanced view of the policy side of the global trade in seafood, making direct links from policy change at the national level to how local people perceive fisheries governance and trade agreements. As much of the broader dialogue is informed by examinations at the global scale (Anderson et al. 2018), finding direct connections from trade-induced policy changes to the state of fisheries and the communities they support is essential. Implementing trade agreements that facilitate the increase of trade in seafood do not necessarily culminate in growth and development for resource-dependent coastal communities, even if they are export-oriented. These insights call for careful consideration of the impacts that increased seafood trade may have on the communities that provide the labor, production, and innovation that allows for such a profitable industry worldwide.

5.2.1 Interactions between International Trade and Fishing Communities

It is clear that international trade has a tangible impact on fishing communities globally. Crona et al. (2016, p. 8), in their global synthesis of small-scale fisheries and the global seafood trade, shed light on these impacts, showing that the interactions between fisheries and international trade are by no means simple and can result in “feedback dynamics that are both difficult to anticipate and analyze in simple terms.” This requires further examination of the dynamics driving such impacts, an objective that can be achieved through in-depth analysis of case-studies that ultimately lead to local policy solutions. In

the past two decades, scholars and practitioners have noted a variety of interactions and impacts at the fishing community level regarding international trade and globalization, including the importance of looking at the value chain structure (Bailey et al. 2016, Purcell et al. 2017, Chuenpagdee 2018), negative repercussions of implementing trade without accompanying strategies to build capacity locally (Crona et al. 2015), globalization's impact on fish plant workers (Neis et al. 2005), and locally-based fishing communities facing competition from cheaper imports. Some examples of these negative consequences include the case of Louisiana shrimp fishery (Harrison 2012, Marks 2012), and the globalization of the whitefish market having a downward impact on fish prices in Newfoundland (Davis 2015). These studies have added to the discourse on the global trade and seafood, and some have suggested ways to mitigate some negative aspects of increased pressures, such as Child's (2018) look at how social enterprises can help reduce vulnerability in a small-scale North Carolina fishery.

Although there is a need for more of these studies that look to the underlying dynamics between trade and locally-based fisheries, it is also important to take note of the global discourses that are enabling rapid integration into global markets, such as calling into question the blue economy as principally driven by economic growth rather than sustainability (Hadjimichael 2018). The blue economy and blue growth⁴ initiatives are increasingly informing the global debate (World Bank 2017), from Europe's focus on

⁴ Initiatives that frame the ocean as the economic frontier (Cohen et al. 2019) with poor recognition of SSF (Jentoft 2019).

development of ocean mining and energy (European Commission 2016), to Africa's food security initiatives from fisheries and aquaculture (Ababouch 2015). There are, however, questions of how these goals will achieve both economic growth without compromising marine conservation (Barbesgaard 2018). Social concerns also require inclusion in this debate, with the growth promised by the blue economy presenting risks to already vulnerable coastal communities through ocean grabbing (Ros 2018) and increasing the exposures of globalization (Jentoft 2017). It is in this milieu, therefore, that the discourse on international trade and coastal communities needs to consider the social implications of growth-focused economic actions.

5.2.2 Inclusion of Socially-Conscious Language in International Trade Agreements

Limiting the negative aspects of trade that create vulnerabilities for small-scale fisheries does not mean the abolition of trade agreements, but rather working within their structure to improve a better quality of interactions between trade and domestic fishery policies. For instance, researchers have examined how to use the mechanisms within trade agreements to reach certain goals such as sustainable development (Kumar et al. 2018) and to achieve fishery subsidy reduction (Bayramoglu et al. 2018, Nakagawa 2016). Friedman et al. (2018) have also shown how successful global initiatives have aided in the mainstreaming of biodiversity in the past few decades, with a nod to international trade-based initiatives. As these agreements have been shown to be amenable to change, a push towards more socially-conscious language regarding fisheries in these trade agreements may also be helpful.

This idea is not radical, with globally accepted initiatives such as the SDGs and the SSF Guidelines, both calling for increased market and resource access for small-scale, locally-based fisheries. As national governments are the main negotiators in bilateral trade agreements, they should take into account these agreements that they have signed on to when setting up new economic agreements, abiding as they do so principles such as equity and equality, and economic, social and environmental sustainability. As a starting point, states “should recognize that benefits from international trade should be fairly distributed” (SSF Guideline 7.8; FAO 2015). Increasing the use of socially-conscious language in trade agreements with specific references to small-scale and inshore fishing communities could be one way of enacting effective, multilevel governance for the responsible implementation of trade agreements. This would not be a catch-all solution but would contribute in providing a framework that would allow for the work of well-functioned, locally-based institutions.

5.2.3 Re-Scaling the Seafood Trade Talk

In addition to including socially-conscious language in the discourse about seafood trade, the topic itself might need some ‘re-scaling,’ to recognize the dynamics that are playing out in the interactions between locally-based fisheries and international trade. This requires taking into consideration locally specific examples, rather than negotiating in an arena solely focused on market homogenization through principles such as national treatment (Sinclair 2013).

Mansfield's (2005) idea of *scales-as-dimensions* allows for multiple scales to be thought of simultaneously, which in the case of this study, means considering the local, national, and international levels and how they contribute to interactions in regard to trade and fisheries. Mansfield cautions against setting up an 'either/or' situation or trade-offs, but rather to reconsider local communities as not only being affected by national or global phenomenon but as equal actors in the process. Asserting local in the global dialogue on international trade in seafood allows, firstly, for local concerns to be at the forefront of such debates, and secondly for this dimension to be fully considered when formulating the necessary institutional arrangements needed at the varying spatial and temporal scales (Charles 2012).

As trade in seafood is transboundary, and transboundary issues have been shown to complicate the welfare of small-scale fishers (Scholtens et al. 2019), trade needs to be viewed as a multi-level driver impacting locally-based fisheries (Nayak & Berkes 2019). Deploying a *scale-as-dimensions* approach as posited by Mansfield may allow for institutionally-based solutions to be developed at both the local (e.g., social enterprises, marketing initiatives), national (e.g., increased financial support for locally-based institutions), and global dimensions (e.g., inclusion of socially conscious language in bi and multilateral trade agreements), without weakening one dimension in order to advance another.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

Recognizing the need for a shift in focus in the seafood trade discourse, some policy recommendations can be formulated. The first three recommendations are tailored to the GNP, aiming at addressing mismatches in the governance of the fisheries in the region in their relationship with trade. These recommendations and suggestions proposed are based on the results of the analytical institutional approach, as well as the results of the initial responses. Despite their focus on the GNP, they have wider implications for seafood trade policy. This section concludes with a final recommendation of how to move to a principled governance of seafood trade policy,

5.3.1 Fortifying Local Institutions and Building Capacity

As shown in this research, institutions at varying scales have significant implications for small, resource-dependent communities. Although large-scale institutions can be effective in integrating markets, and managing the conservation of fish stocks, they can have unintended consequences on local communities. As national and supra-national organizations by design have more power than local institutions, it is important for local institutions to be bolstered, for instance, by increased funding or increased resource access (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2018). The local organizations also need to be strengthened, and in the case of the GNP, be collaborative and expanding their initiatives beyond their localities (Butters et al. 2018).

In the past, the GNP has depended on regional development organizations that were dependent on federal funds, leading them to, as Hall et al. (2016) pointed out, go from dysfunctional to destitute. Thus, rather than increasing the reliance of coastal communities on federal funds and thus reducing their autonomy, the federal and provincial government “[have] an ethical as well as democratic obligation to govern and protect all the components of the nation state, even the smallest coastal community” (Ommer 2007, p. 433). The unevenness of rural development and the lack of responsibilities and roles of politicians in rural areas make this organization and autonomy more difficult (Goodwin 1998) but more power allocated at the community level is necessary — especially in places such as rural, outport Newfoundland which has historical importance and immense social capital (Ommer 2007).

The GNP currently has in place local institutions, some developed in the late 1990s (i.e., SABRI and NOFTA), with others recently coming online such as the GNP Joint Council. As earlier noted, SABRI is a successful example of community-based allocations of resources, playing a significant role in social and economic sustainability of coastal communities (Foley et al. 2013). Although organizations such as SABRI and NOFTA have faced reduction in their access to resource allocations, which has weakened their organizational capacity, they are still important forces in the region. As these organizations are primarily focused on resource access and coastal community viability, they should be supported by provincial or federal governments in order to expand their scope. Expanding their priorities to include market access, for example, may help them in the increasingly competitive global market.

Pascual-Fernandez et al. (2019, p. 160) point out that “without strong organizations, market innovation in small-scale fisheries is restricted to personal initiatives that may succeed but have a limited role to transform local markets.” Previous studies have shown that the governance of trade does not only need to occur at the national and international scales and that there is a place for local institutions in the process (Bennett & Basurto 2018). Local institutions to specifically deal with market access, innovation, and capacity building in the GNP fishery could be facilitated in part through regional organization as well as funds from the AFF, whose funding guidelines stress the support of *innovation*, *modernization*, and *partnerships* (DFO 2018a) — points suggested by informants involved in fisheries advocacy and community development during the course of this research. In the current period of change and global market competition, it is imperative for communities to be supported by local institutions that can be implemented and supported with the use of federal and provincial funds.

5.3.2 Policy Review and Framework Development

The principles that aid in protecting the inshore fishery of the region, although not perfect, are safeguards that ensure the inshore fishery has a stake in resource access. These policies and principles, such as the Principle of Adjacency, the MPR, and the Fleet Separation policy, many of which were put in place after the cod collapse of the early 1990’s, were implemented to aid in the transition to new fisheries and to aid in the viability of the inshore fleet (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014). Although these principles are

essential to the inshore and therefore coastal community viability (Carruthers et al. 2019), “little has been achieved provincially to deal with global competition and empowerment of resource users” (Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014, p. 608). If fisheries in the province are primarily governed for their economic contributions (DesRivières et al. 2017), then it is important to ensure that such economic considerations take into account how widespread the benefits are and how to most equitably allow for their distribution.

Looking to work done by the Canadian Fisheries Research Network, an indicator in achieving a good governance structure in Canadian fisheries governance is to search for consistency in institutional, legislative, and local norms (Stephenson et al. 2018). What this research shows is that, although inshore fishery protections are locally popular, they are misaligned and, in some cases, weakened through trade policy.

If Canadian fisheries are to be better governed, governance actors at both the provincial and the federal levels need to take into consideration the existing fisheries policies by first, examining which policies are contributing to widespread benefits, and second, where deficiencies lie. This analysis should also take into account the strength of the policies that are in place and decide if they should be strengthened to ensure they are not further weakened in fulfilling international agreements, as was shown in the case of the MPR phase-out.

This type of framework building can begin by looking at the SSF Guidelines of which Canada is a signatory, particularly where it states: “States should foster, provide and

enable investments in appropriate infrastructures, organizational structures and capacity development to support the small-scale fisheries post-harvest subsector ... for both export and domestic markets, in a responsible and sustainable manner” (SSF Guidelines, p. 11; FAO 2017). Enabling equitable market access for the inshore fisheries without the weakening of domestic fishery protections can be a way to ensure fisheries are governed with the considerations of economic viability and prosperity, and sustainable communities. All of which are essential objectives to guide a sustainable fisheries framework (Stephenson et al. 2019).

5.3.3 *Market and Resource Access*

Finally, initiatives that support *market* access for seafood products must also take into consideration the need for adequate *resource* access if global markets are to be fully taken advantage of. As the ability to access markets is an influence on the ability to harvest, process, and transport resources (Bennet et al. 2018), it needs to be recognized that a lack of access to resource has direct implications on the ability to take advantage of increased market access. Focusing on the economic viability of fisheries must focus not only on market access but also on the distribution of resource access and impacts on livelihood. Although the issue is sometimes phrased as ‘fisheries not having the market to sell their product for a competitive price,’ the inverse is equally problematic. If markets, and the competition they bring, are opened to a fishery with limited access to fish, then those involved in the fishery are exposed to increased stressors without the prospect of having any benefit.

If governments follow the prescribed international agreements such as the SSF Guidelines as well as SDG 14b that call for ensuring market and resource access to small-scale fishers, then they may be able to provide a platform where fisheries composed of both harvesters and processors, can have room to explore options, test ideas, and come up with innovative ways to improve the governing of their market and resource access (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2018).

5.3.4 *Principled Governance of Seafood Trade Policy*

This final recommendation seeks to address a fundamental issue with seafood trade policy, i.e., the focus on industry profitability over community viability. Framing the seafood trade issues this way allows for the meta-order of trade governance to be examined (e.g., removal of trade barriers), specifically looking at the fundamental, rather than applied principles that guide governance (Kooiman 2008). As economic globalization has replaced progress and social cohesion with communication and markets (Suarez de Vivero et al. 2005), regional interests are being paved over in the pursuit of bilateral agreements (Scholtens et al. 2019). Although there have been calls to better govern seafood trade for the purpose of increased food security (Smith et al. 2010), and calls for increased effort by corporations to encourage sustainability in the fishing industry (Osterblom et al. 2015), further work needs to be done to address the meta-order of seafood trade policy to account for the principles that support and govern inshore fisheries and the coastal communities that support them. This means limiting the

homogenizing effect of trade policy, and instead turning it on its head, allowing it to be amenable to local policies that ensure community viability, therefore, setting a vision of what can be equitable and fair seafood trade policy.

Guided by Song and Chuenpagdee's (2015) "vision-setting" for the fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador, this final recommendation calls for a vision-setting of how to better align free trade principles to enable inshore fisheries to thrive, rather than experience stressors from global exposures. This vision cannot be prescribed from the top, as it could eventually run into the problem of not accounting for certain regional fisheries policies, reflecting the same problem that occurs from the implementation of the national treatment principle in trade policy. Rather, it is important that governance norms and principles be made explicit, and therefore allowed to be addressed and negotiated by relevant stakeholders (Kooiman & Jentoft 2009). Therefore, principled governance of seafood trade policy needs to be both *equitable* and *ethical*, acknowledging and not weakening the principles that govern community-based fisheries. Although having a principled governance of seafood trade policy may be less influential than economic and market-based valuations (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft 2019), it is not unattainable. Looking back to the case-study presented in this research, international trade policy (i.e., CETA) has resulted in a direct phase-out of a local protection, even though the social science and interdisciplinary research has consistently shown the importance of regionally-specific principles in the governance of the Newfoundland inshore fishery (Foley et al. 2013, Khan & Chuenpagdee 2014, Keenan & Carruthers 2015, Song & Chuenpagdee 2015, Carruthers et al. 2019). As Newfoundland has been highly involved in export markets

since the growth of the shellfish fishery, there was no indication that the MPR policy was limiting international trade, suggesting that regionally-specific policies can be compatible to engaging with export markets. Regardless, the EU found the MPR to be against the national treatment principles discussed in this thesis — suggesting that principles of trade highly influence how it is implemented which makes the case for creating new principles of trade that take into account equity and regionally specific needs. Thus, a principled governance of seafood trade policy could be effective in maintaining coastal community viability while allowing for trade to occur.

Although a principled governance of seafood trade policy would not be prescriptive compared to the national treatment informed policies currently dominating the trade policy arena, it can, if adopted by national governments and trading institutions, be a way to allow coastal communities to enjoy the gains from trade within safe ecological and social limits (Sabau & Boksh 2017).

CHAPTER 6:

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This conclusion chapter begins with a summary outlining the key findings and main contributions of this research. Next, a short reflection about the theoretical approach employed in the study is presented. The chapter concludes with a note on future research.

6.1 Summary

6.1.1 Key Research Findings

The key findings of this research are twofold. The first set of findings corresponds to the institutional analytical approach taken, looking at the fisheries and coastal communities of the GNP. This assessment finds that CETA affected the region's governability in three realms. First, the agreement changes the governance *structure* through its implementation. CETA is a bilateral agreement with no sunset clause meaning that it is here to stay, barring immense political disruption such as the failure of the EU member states to ratify it. CETA is established as a new economic institutional arrangement that has direct policy effects (e.g., tariff reductions), and embraces policies related to national treatment and market access that facilitate increased trade of seafood products with the EU. Second, CETA impacts the governance *function* of Newfoundland fisheries through a direct phase-out of the provincial policy requirement for minimum processing (MPR),

limiting the functioning of the governing system to support inshore viability, and leading to public policy ripples as shown in the development and implementation of the Atlantic Fisheries Fund (AFF). These structural and functional changes culminate ultimately in the impact of CETA on governing *interactions* in the region. CETA phases out the MPR, a community-supported and inshore specific policy that was also supported by the provincial government and key informants in the GNP, essentially limiting interactions between the governing system and system-to-be-governed. This change, although most likely to have the greatest effects at the local level, since it takes away a protection for a sector already weakened by limited product, is codified at the highest levels of the governing system.

The institutional analysis, which views CETA as an institution rather than an added policy change and examined the diversity of values, principles, and goals of the governing system and the systems-to-be-governed (Kooiman et al. 2008), reveals where mismatches occur (e.g., between governing system principles and community organization principles). Although CETA has only been implemented for over one-year at the time the research was conducted, this institutional and values based methodology presents a snapshot of the GNP and how their fisheries and communities are interacting with CETA at its onset.

The second set of findings corresponds to the fieldwork done in completion of this research. Interviews with local and non-local informants highlighted the nuanced view of CETA by relevant actors in the GNP, as well as suggesting a disconnect in how

government actors viewed the agreement compared to local ones. Although informants in the GNP initially considered CETA's tariff reductions to be positive, the phase-out of the MPR was incompatible with local goals of processing sector viability, and the AFF was seen as inadequate to address the problems of the fishery and seafood processing sector. In phasing out this local protection, further trust in government was eroded, something that could not be mended through the purported benefits of reducing tariffs on already depleted fish stocks, or through sparse, single-enterprise investment from the AFF.

Initial responses also contributed to an understanding of the multiple exposures facing the fisheries. A key issue expressed was a lack of adequate resource access, an essential factor for coastal community viability and well-being (Berkes & Nayak 2018, Bennett et al. 2018). Although CETA does not directly impact fisheries management or the subsequent stock allocation decisions, it exposes both the increased stressors faced by the processing sector (e.g., lack of product, corporate and market pressures), and the lack of access given to the inshore fishery sector. When coastal communities lack resource access, external pressures (like CETA's MPR phase-out) can exacerbate persistent problems, making the processing sector more vulnerable. This study also shows that initially increasing market access, for instance through tariff reductions, does not mitigate other stressors on the region.

In addition to the contribution to the discourse regarding globalization and seafood trade (see Chapter Five), it is also important to recognize the relevance of the global development agenda, like the blue growth and blue economy initiatives, for coastal

communities, and how it affects their viability and well-being. As fisheries are in a period of unparalleled transition (Acott et al. 2018), it is important that the values underpinning fisheries do not get lost in the narrow discussions of exposures, stressors, and economic viability. Social and cultural issues are not only important in terms of community viability (Nayak & Berkes 2019), but also because they are necessary to achieve sustainable fisheries (Urquhart et al. 2014). The GNP case-study illustrates not only the importance of community viability and “*sustainable and meaningful employment*” (Informant 1, 2018), but also speaks to the “sufficiency vs. efficiency” paradigm found in other case studies examining fisheries (Pinkerton 2017). Although trade agreements and similar neoliberal economic mechanisms are effective in creating efficiency in the seafood sector, they lack a broader view of what efficiency or economic viability means, and in the case of the GNP, who ultimately benefits from a more ‘efficient’ (e.g., rationalized) fishery and processing sector — coastal communities or profit-motivated companies. Schuhbauer and Sumalia (2016) offer a first step in reframing economic viability by incorporating social and governance values in their definition of the term. Next steps will require the recognition of wellbeing and a broader view of community sustainability in the discussion and application of modern economic agreements, including trade policy.

6.1.2 Main Contributions

Essentially, this research asked how global trade plays out at the community-level. What makes this study and subsequent findings unique is that it examines globalization through

coastal communities and fisheries — a research field that, in itself, is extensive in its global reach.

This research makes three main contributions to seafood trade policy and international trade agreements more broadly. First, it provides a unique way to assess international trade policy which, in the case of this study, focused on the impact of trade principles and policies on fisheries and coastal communities. This methodological approach utilizes a governance lens to examine international trade agreements at the regional and community level, making it possible for researchers, policy makers, practitioners, scholars, and the like, to examine these economic institutions, not only for the policy changes they induce but for the underlying principles that facilitate such change. Second, this research illustrates the complex interactions between international trade policy and coastal communities in a time of global change. The case study illustrates that international trade policy interacts with the social, economic, and ecological changes faced by fisheries and coastal communities, pointing not only to how it impacts their viability, but also how it impacts the greater structure of fisheries governance in the case-study region. Therefore, the case study examined, and the methodological approach offered allows for a provisional assessment of economic institutional change. It also re-frames the way challenges from globalization can be assessed. This culminates in the third contribution, the broadening of discussion regarding the implications of international trade policy as it relates to the seafood trade at all levels. By examining the normative function of these institutions, this research makes direct links to implications for fisheries and coastal communities in terms of their viability.

6.1.3 Reflection on the Theoretical Approach

The theoretical framework for this research has been used to frame and guide the research questions and direction, as well as being deployed as a diagnostic tool. As interactive governance framework has been integral to this research, it is necessary to reflect on how it contributed to research outcomes. The interactive governance approach created the space to examine both local, day-to-day complexities of the case study in focus, as well as the larger dynamics at play.

As the problems that face fisheries are many, and in most cases increasingly complex (Bavinck et al. 2018), it is easy to get lost in the complexities when studying such systems. Interactive governance allowed for a dissection of the case study region so that all dynamics could be considered, and then through a focus of ‘interaction’ quantity and more importantly quality, it enables the discovery of where the problems were most pronounced (Chuenpagdee 2011a). This approach allowed for this research to have a multiscale view of the problem, finding that the lack of fit between the governing principles of trade policy and the system-to-be-governed was not only a lack of interaction, but a clear disconnect regarding principles between the systems. Although previous studies examined the inherent contradictions between free trade policy and coastal community viability and autonomy (e.g., Song & Chuenpagdee 2015, Sabau & Boksh 2017), this study has shown that these contradictions can amplify problems already occurring on the ground in coastal communities.

Although this analysis showed the impact of CETA on the region's governance structure, function, and governing interactions, it was also able to show that it aligns with conservation principles of national fisheries management, with language limiting trade's effect on conservation measures.

Although the benefits of interactive governance are many, it is important to reflect on areas where the theory could be improved. As Ostrom (2007, p. 15185) states, "exclusive devotion to a particular research method threatens the capability of scientists to contribute to the development of the diversity of institutions needed to sustain the diversity of ecological settings over time." Interactive governance has answered this with a move to transdisciplinary knowledge which seeks to produce knowledge by bringing together multiple disciplines, using their strengths to transcend traditional boundaries allowing for innovation to emerge (Said et al. 2019). This research has relied on the social sciences and governance fields in both construction and implementation, with the work from other researchers and select government agencies filling in the gaps of needed ecological information. As this research touches on scalar relations it may be necessary to consider how scale could be further considered in the framework, considering both in geographical terms on the systems-to-be-governed as well as in a more vertical way in its approach to the various levels of governance (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee 2009). As 'scale' is quite abstract, it would be beneficial to adequately examine the importance of various scales and what should be looked at in the greatest detail. Interactive governance does present an opportunity for this, with the scales in which the majority of interactions are occurring

offering the greatest insight (Kooiman et al. 2008), but this could benefit from a more thorough explanation or guidance for researchers when they are considering at what scale to center their focus in an evidence-based way.

6.2 Future Research

This research presents a thorough examination of the case study region, and through a principle-focused entry point, provides further evidence of the institutional conflict between international trade policy and fisheries and coastal communities (Song & Chuenpagdee 2015). Although examining institutional change and alignment show where principles of international trade and their corresponding policies conflict with fisheries, this section calls for continued, and follow-up assessments of how economic institutions affect fisheries and coastal community viability in the mid to long-term.

Although scholars such as Pinkerton (2019) have summarized certain policies and strategies used by small-scale fishing communities to support themselves in an increasingly neoliberal world, and others have called for developing marketing skills (Witter & Stoll 2017) and traceability initiatives (Poitevin 2015); it is important to, at the on-set of policy intervention, be aware of the principles that enable viable fisheries and coastal communities. As less attention is paid to the initial stages of intervention, Chuenpagdee and Jentoft (2007) argue that there needs to be some consensus with regard to the perception of the problem. In this research, Chapter Four represents this ‘step zero’ approach by investigating initial responses to CETA’s institutional change, making links

to the incompatibility of principles. These findings present a strong foundation for further investigations into the case study region, from asking what are the mid to long-term impacts of CETA, to examining the agreements implications for equity and equality at the coastal community level.

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